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EDITORIAL.

The present number is devoted to a Môn historical work, already edited by Schmidt—*Slapat Rājāwañ Datow Smin Roñ*, re-edited, with text, notes and translation, by Mr. R. Halliday, Corresponding Member of our Society. The translator needs no introduction to our readers; but some may not be aware that this publication almost coincides with the appearance of Mr. Halliday's long awaited Môn-English Dictionary. This fine work, produced in a lavish manner by the Siam Society, aided, it appears, by the generosity of the Paklat Press, Bangkok, will come under review later in our Journal. Meantime a short preliminary notice of it seems desirable, for it is a work that all serious students of the literatures of Burma will obviously require. For more than twenty years readers of Talaing have had little but Stevens' second edition of Haswell's "Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language" to rely on, in which the Vocabulary fills some 265 pages. The corresponding number of pages in Mr. Halliday's dictionary is 489, and the page is larger; so that it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that the work is twice as long. It is supplemented by an Appendix of 23 pp. containing a "Short English—Môn Vocabulary," and a grammatical introduction of some 30 pages.

The appearance of this work, we hope, will mark a definite revival of Talaing studies in Burma. Hitherto the difficulty of worrying out the sense of a Talaing work has been enough to daunt all but the most strenuous researchers; for not merely are our dictionaries inadequate, but even the Talaings themselves appear to have lost touch with their older literature, and the student has been thrown largely upon his own resources. Mr. Halliday would probably be the first to admit that his dictionary is still far from being exhaustive, for extant Talaing literature is much vaster than is generally supposed. Still we have now a dictionary to which we may turn with a good prospect of finding the word we seek; and Mr. Halliday's labours on Modern Talaing, supplemented by Mr. Blagden's work on the old and mediaeval inscriptions, will have saved this ancient literature, if not from dying, at least from being forgotten.

Members of the Burma Research Society, we feel sure, will join us in congratulating both the author, and the Siam Society, on this most notable publication. A limited number of copies, we hear, are on sale at the American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon, at Rs 18/- per copy.

We are informed that the Government of Burma is publishing a Talaing work, "*Lik Smin Asah*," edited and translated by Mr. Halliday.* This is a poetical work giving the romantic story of the young prince who became the third king of Pegu. Incidentally the story of the founding of Pegu is told, and there is also an account of a subsequent invasion from India. A good deal is imaginative, and, the author being a monk, the religious lesson is always pointed. Mr. Halliday's scholarly edition makes a handy volume of 249 pages, comprising text, translation, notes and vocabulary.

* While this number was in the press, the work has appeared. It is on sale at the American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon, at Rs. 3 per copy.



SLAPAT RĀJĀWAN DATOW SMIN RON

A HISTORY OF KINGS

With Text, Translation, and Notes

BY R. HALLIDAY.

Author of "The Talaings," "Mon-English Dictionary" "Lik Smiñ Asah."

THE CONTENTS.

The author's introduction.

The genealogy of the Bodhisatva from Mahāsamatto.

The story of the Buddha.

The birth—the great renunciation—the temptation and victory—the Buddhahood—the Bodhi-throne.

The story of the relics.

The two brothers—Singhuttara—the enshrining of the hair relics and beginnings of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon.

The kings of Pegu.

The first dynasty, from Samala to Tissaraja.

The revolt of the Burmese governors and the transference of the seat of government to Martaban under Wareru.

The kings again in Pegu from Bañā U to Bañā Dala.

The final conquest of Pegu.

Pegu under Alaungphra and two of his sons.

Conclusion.

The futile effort to ward off Death—the need for humility and good works.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Bur.=Burmese.

P.=Pali.

Skt.=Sanskrit.

INTRODUCTION.

This work was first brought to the notice of foreign students generally by the publication of *Buch des Rājāwañ, Der Königsgeschichte*, by P. W. Schmidt, at Vienna in 1906. Mr. C. O. Blagden of London, through the medium of whom the manuscript was furnished and help in interpretation given, afterwards made a translation of Schmidt's German with many emendations of the text and the interpretation, but it was never published.

The circumstances which led to the proposal to publish the work in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* are these. On examining a palm leaf copy of a work recently acquired by the Bernard Free Library, I found that though it was a copy of the work edited and translated by Schmidt, it was very imperfect. I pointed out the defects to the Hon. Librarian, and advised that instead of having it copied as it stood, that a better text should be sought. I also suggested to Mr. Luce, Hon. Editor of the *Burma Research Society's Journal*, that the text should be edited and printed with a translation. Mr. Luce at once took the matter up with the Text Publication Sub-Committee, and the work as now published is the result.

THE TITLE.

This work is cited by Phayre in the preface to his *History of Burma* as one of his authorities. He calls it "a history of Pegu in the Mun language, by Hsayâ dau Athwâ, a Talaing Buddhist monk, which was translated into Burmese," and further characterises it as "little more than a fragment, as the materials for a full history of the Mun people either do not exist, or are not now available in Pegu." This is perhaps not quite a fair estimation of the work. The author's own description found in his introductory and concluding paragraphs, makes it "a brief history of the lines of kings" such as would be of benefit to his readers. He does not propose to give a full history, and again it is not so much a history of Pegu as a relation of events leading up to the building of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon and the subsequent upkeep of it. The Bernard Free Library people very rightly, I think, label it မြန်မာ့သမိုင်းတိုင်းရင်းသမိုင်း "a compendium of history and relic story." It is true the author names it an historical work, but he is thinking as much of the lines of kings leading up to the coming of the Buddha as of the kings of Pegu who were afterwards supporters of the religion and renovators of the great shrine. On one of my tours in Siam I had a somewhat hurried look through a copy of what was really the same work, but was labelled *Dhātuwañ*. If, however, we take the title as it stood, apparently, in Schmidt's copy, that is, "*Slapat Rājāwañ Datow Smin roñ*," it is a history of dynasties of kings.

It will be seen that the aim of the author is more than all else to exalt the religion and its Founder and to keep well before his readers the great shrine which is the visible embodiment of all the veneration of the highest of their race. The religious aspect is kept more to the front than the mere historical point of view. The author at the same time sees that the religious interest is bound up in the historical.

THE AUTHOR.

The author of this short history, known as the monk of Acwo' (no personal name seems ever to be given him), has a great reputation among the Talaings as a writer. At times one will be told off hand that the monk of Acwo' wrote all the books. This, of course, is far from being the case, as many of the books show internal evidence of having been written long before his time. Still his accredited works are quite voluminous. He indeed represents the later Talaing, and his Rājāwañ is a good example of the later literary form of that language. He was living in or about Pegu during all the trying time between the revolt of Thā Aung, the Burmese governor and the conquest by Alaungphra, and lived until after the death of Sinbyu-shin. He was thus able to speak with feeling of the doings of Alaungphra in Pegu.

THE TEXT AND ITS INTERPRETATION.

In writing out the text I have had that of Schmidt before me with a great many variant readings from other copies of the work that I have at different times examined. The most of Schmidt's notes on the text are not now necessary as the mistakes have been corrected from the other Mss., and many of them were mere copyists errors at any rate. Here and there his suggested emendations have proved wrong. In the main, therefore we have a much better, since it is a more perfect, text.

In the translation again, the advance in our knowledge of the language has helped to clear up difficulties that were encountered at the time when Schmidt studied the text sixteen years ago. There again a better text coupled with better facilities for interpretation have rendered many of his notes unnecessary. Just as in writing out the text I had Schmidt's work before me (in some instance I was altogether dependent on it), so in the translating, I have been glad to have his translation and notes before me, though, of course, I have gone my own way in interpretation. I have not called attention to differences. Former readers of Schmidt who are now reading the present version can make their own comparisons.

I have given Indian names of persons and places in their Indian forms. Burmese names are given in the recognised spelling. I have used Rangoon regularly to represent Laguñ as making the meaning clearer to the English reader. On the other hand I have retained Hamsāvati where the classical name occurs, and have used Pegu only when the common name was given in the text. For the sake of accuracy in the meaning, I have given the

names of the months in their Indian forms, but in the case of the days of the week and the signs of the zodiac where the names in English correspond, I have translated.

My best thanks are due to Mr. Blagden of London, for critically reading my translation and notes, and for making a number of valuable suggestions which I have gladly made use of in again going over my work. Mr. Blagden's thorough acquaintance with ancient Talaing, his knowledge of the Indian reckoning of time, and of the chronology of Burma, together with his understanding of the facts of the Buddha's life and the signification of the terminology of Buddhism, makes him a valuable guide in the interpretation of a work such as this. He has besides had the advantage of studying the text and interpretation as published by Father Schmidt seventeen years ago, both of which he had greatly improved.

နမောတဿတဂဝတောအရဟတောသမ္ဘာသမ္ဘုဒ္ဓဿ။

ရာဇာမုနိန္ဒြိယိလောကအဂ္ဂံ။ ဓမ္မဉ္စသင်္ဃဉ္စနမာမိအဟံ။ ရာဇာဝံသပကာရဏာတာဝံ။ သံခေဝံ ဒဿိဿာမိ။ ယထာရဟံ။

တိလောကအဂ္ဂံ။ တိလဂ္ဂံဓမ္မစိုဉ်တကွတ်လိုက်မပြုနိုင်မိလေဝတံဂမ္ဘီရံ။ ရာဇာမုနိန္ဒြိယံ။ နိက္ခာန် ဩဇ္ဈိဂဏိ။ အဟံ။ ငါး။ နမာမိ။ ပွဲလွှာရအံ။ ဓမ္မဉ္စ။ နိဝေလောကုတ်တို့စိတ်ပြကာမညေတိတ် ကျော်ပရိယတ္တိကျိပ်။ သံဃဉ္စ။ ဟိုနိုသင်စာပြကာမတွံဂးအရိယသင်သရတ္တိယသင်ကိုလင်။ အဟံ။ ငါး။ အံ။ နမာမိ။ ပွဲလွှာရအံ။ တဇ္ဇရံ။ ပွဲသင်သင်မလွှာကျော်လွှာဝေလွှာသင်ဂွံ။ ရာဇာဝံ သပကာရဏာတာဝံ။ ဟိုနိုပြကိုယ်ရာဇာဝင်မဒြိ တောဝတံဒေဝာဝါ အဆက်အဆက် မကြက်ကျင်နွ ကျော်ဒေဝာဝါယာသမန္တတေဂွံ။ သံခေဝံ။ ဗွေကမုနိဟေင်။ ယထာရဟံ။ အယဝံ မာတ်မထိုက်ကြိုက်ကို ညာနိ အမ္ပိမိလင်မဂ္ဂညာ ဘိလင်မဂ္ဂသန္တိလင်ဂွံ။ ဒဿိဿာမိ။ ကြက်အစွယ်ထစးပျားလင်ကို တထ ပညာဘိညးဂမ္ဘီရဉ္စိ။

တိဏ္ဍိတာရဏောဂါဟံ။ မဟာဇနံပိညာဏတ္ထံ။ ဟံသာဝတီပုရဏတ္ထံ။ ဝိပတ္တိဗျူဟနက္ခရံ။

တိဏ္ဍိတာရဏောဂါဟံ။ ငါးအံ။ ပိုနိတာအစောဝံဂွံ။ မဟာဇနံပိညာဏတ္ထံ။ တို့နသွက်ဒေဝုမြ မင်မှာဇနံတံသွေဝံပိုင်သန္တိလင်ဗွေအဆက်အဆက်ဟံသာဝတီပုရဏတ္ထံ။ တို့နသွက်ဒေဝုမြမင်ညးမ ပဒတ်ပုဂ္ဂင်ဟံသာဝတီတံဂွံ။ ဝိပတ္တိဗျူဟနက္ခရံ။ နေမန္တိကိုအခပ်ပိုက်ဗျူဟပတ်အာဂွံ။ ရာဇာဝံသပ ကာရဏံ။ နိပြကိုယ်ရာဇာဝင်မဟိုအကြိုကျော် ဒေဝာဝါသွီမစေန်ဆက်ကျင်နွမဟာသမန္တရိုကို ကျော်ဩနာပိုဝံဂွံ။ သသန္တနတာအတ္ထာယ။ တို့နသွက်နိဗ္ဗုပ္ပာနိဗ္ဗုပ္ပာလင်ဂွံ။ မညတာသာယဝေါတာ ရံ။ နိ ဝေါတာညးပိုင်ဟံသာဝတီမဒြိ။ ယထာရဟံ။ အယဝံ မာတ်မထိုက်ကြိုက်ကိုညာနိအမ္ပိ မိညာဇာသန္တိလင်ဂွံ။ ကရိဿာမိ။ အကြက်စီရင်လင်ညိအံ။

အာမိဝါဂါတာဝံဗုဒ္ဓံ။ အန္တိပိုနိတာအစောဝံခပ်မေတ္တာမထိုက်မိုက်အံဂွံဒြိ။ တို့နသွက်ဇနံတံမ တံပွဲရးပိုင်ဟံသာဝတီဗုဒ္ဓမညတာသာဂွံ။ တို့နသွက်ပိုင်သန္တိလင်ကျော်ဒေဝာဝါသွီအဆက်အဆက် ဂွံပြကိုယ်ရာဇာဝင်မဟိုကိုပိုက်ဗျူဟပတ်အာဂွံ။ အန္တိဗုဒ္ဓပိုက်ဗျူဟပိုင်ပြင်ဂတိက န္တိလင်ညိအံ။

အာတိတပထမကပ္ပမဟာသာမန္တရာဇာ။ ရန္တိကာရေသိ။

နူပထမကပ်မာန်ကျင်တေဂွံ။ မောမိသတ်ပိုဒ်ဗျူဟသမန္တရာဇာကိုပိက္ခာရ။ လွင်နကပ် မာန်တေဂွံ။ ဌိ ၆၄ အန္တရကပ်ရ။ ဗွေအန္တရကပ်ရ။ နူအထက်သတ္တမဒြိသွေဝံ ဂွံသွေဝံဗွေဝံ မောင်တိုနိအာရိုကိုမိုက်အထက်သတ္တမဒြိအသင်ဗွေ။ နူဗွေအသင်ဗွေကွံသွေဝံဗွေဝံတုတ်ဗွေအာရိုကိုမိုက် အထက်သတ္တမဒြိသွေဝံဗွေ။ သင်္ဃဒြိဗွေအန္တရကပ်ရ။ နူကပ်မာန်တေဂွံ။ ဗွေအန္တရကပ်တေကျော်ဩကတ္တ ညာနိမတ္တိဒြိရ။ နူဒြိဗွေအန္တရကပ်တေကျော်ဩကောနဂိုတ္တိဒြိဗွေရ။ နူဒြိဗွေအန္တရကပ်ဗွေတေကျော်ဩကထာ ပတ္တိဒြိဗွေရ။ နူ ၁၂ အန္တရကပ်တေကျော်ဩနာပိုမှာရဂေါတမတ္တိဒြိဗွေရ။ နူကျော်ဩနာပိုမှာရဂေါ တမတ္တိ ၅ အန္တရကပ်ဗွေတေကျော်ဩအရိယမေတ်ထေဟုကြက်တ္တိဒြိဗွေရ။ နူကျော်ဩအရိယမေတ်ထေ ဟုဂွံ။ ဗွေအန္တရကပ်တေကပ်တူရ။ နူပွဲသွေဝံအန္တရကပ်ရ။

ပွဲပိုမဟိုကျော်ဒေဝာဝါသွီဂတံဂွံ။ သွီသာမန္တပထမကပ် တေဟံသေင်။ မောမိသတ်ပိုဒ်ဗျူဟ သမန္တပထမအန္တရကပ်ပတ္တိဒြိရောင်။ အစာအတ္တကထာမှာဝင်တံမဟို။

နူတံပထမအန္တရကပ်ပတ္တိ။ မောမိသတ်ပိုဒ်ဗျူဟသမန္တကို။ ကောနိမှာသာမန္တရောဇဂး ယျ။ ကောနိရောဇဂ်ဝရရောဇဂးယျ။ ကောနိဝရရောဇဂ်ကလျာဏဂးယျ။ ကောနိကလျာဏဂ်။ ဝရ ကလျာဏ။ ကောနိဝရကလျာဏဂ်။ မန္တတ။ ကောနိမန္တတဂ်။ ဝရမန္တတ။ ကောနိဝရမန္တတဂ်။ ဥပေါသထ။ ကောနိဥပေါသထဝရဂးယျ။ ကောနိဝရဥပဝရဂးယျ။ ကောနိဥပဝရဂ်။ မာဃ ဒေဝ။ နူမှာသာမန္တမိုက်ဥပဝရဂ်။ ဌိဒေဝာဝါသွေဝံ။ နူမာဃဒေဝဂ်။ ရိုကိုမိုက်သွီနာမိဂ်။ ဂဝ လွှာကိုပနိ လွှာဒေဝာဝါရ။ နူကိုသွီနာမိဂ် ၃၃ ဒေဝာဝါတိုမိုက်သွီဩကာကရ။

ဝိဇ္ဇာပစ္စယာ၌ ကျပ်တည်တတ်ပါရ။ ပဲ့ကထာ၌ ကိလေသလို့ ၅၀၀ တဏှာကဲ့သို့သွတ်အတို။ မဂ္ဂိဒ္ဓိအာသိသင်ခါရမာရ။ ကောတိတပပရိနိဗ္ဗာန်တို့ မဂ္ဂိဒ္ဓိမာ၌တုန်း။ ညးမှူးမာစာ၌ရော။ ခန္တမာစွဲ။ မစ္စမာစွဲ။ ဣဝံမာစာ။ ဟိတိရမ္မဒ္ဓိမာ ၅ မှူးရောင်။

ညးမှူးမာမသုန်၌ရောယင်သွား။ ဒေဝဝုတ္တော။ ကိလေသောစ။ အာဘိသင်ခါရမာရကော။ ခန္တမာရော။ မစ္စမာရော။ ပညမာရောပကာသိတော။ ဒေဝဝုတ္တော။ ဒေဝဝုတ္တမာစွဲ။ ကိလေသောစ။ ကိလေသမှူးစွဲ။ အာဘိသင်ခါရမာရကော။ အာဘိသင်ခါရမာမှူးစွဲ။ ခန္တမာရော။ ခန္တမာမှူးစွဲ။ မစ္စမာရော။ မစ္စမာမှူးစွဲ။ ပညမာရော။ နိ မာမသုန်၌ပကာသိတော။ မှီနိအစာတံပပြာကတ်လင်း။

ပဲ့ထာန်ထ၌စွဲကျပ်အာပဒတ်တုန်း။ ပထမံမေါမိ ပတ္ထင်ကံ။ ဒုတိယည အာနိမိသာ။ တတိယံစက်မာနုတ္ထ။ စတုတ္ထရတနဂရံ။ ပညမံအာဇ္ဇပါလည။ မုစလိန္ဒနုတ္ထမံ။ သတ္တမံရာဇာယတနံ။ အာစာရိယပကာသိတာ။ ပထမံမေါမိပတ္ထင်ကံ။ မဂ္ဂိဒ္ဓိဒေဝဝုတ္တမာကိလေသမာစာဒိကုပ္ပိကုာ၌။ ထ၌တို့ကျပ်တို့၌ပဲ့ဇောမိပတ္ထင်ရ။ ဒုတိယံသတ္တယံ။ မရန္တကိဏီသတ္တယ၌။ အာနိမိသာထာနံ။ ခိုင်ပဲ့အာနိမိသာကောင့်နီ အယောင်အလာဇောမိ ၇ တွဲ။ မဟံဂုံလွှဲမတ်ရ။ ကတမော မေါမိရကော။ ပသင်အယောင်အလာဇောမိ၌ရော။ သင်ပဲ့အာစာမှာရတင်ဂတ်မဟိုလင်း။

သေတဂန္တော။ ဥဇ္ဇဂန္တော။ မနိမုနိရမနော။ လောဟိတဂီရော။ သောအသတ္တော။ မေါမိရကော။ နိလဝဏ္ဏဇလိတော။ နန္ဒမာနောဝတီတိ။ သမ္ဘုရောဇောမဝဏ္ဏော။ ရဝိသုရဇလိတိ။ ဟေမလိလာဝိလာသော။ တမသတ္တပဂနိတွာ။ တိတ္ထအတ္တသယကော။ ဒေဝဒေဝေါနိသိန္နော။ လောမေါမိရကော။ သတ္တာဗြဟ္မာဓေါမိပလိုထိကျပ်တို့။ ပသင်အယောင်အလာဇောမိ၌ရော။

သေတဂန္တော။ ခေမုာ်လွှဲဇာင်ညးမတုတ်ရုဉ္ဇးဩနိကီ။ ဥဇ္ဇဂန္တော။ မုာ်လွှဲတို့မညှပ်ညိုင်ပွာင်ဗဇနိကီ။ မနိမုဏိမနော။ ခေမုာ်ကွပ်မန္တေတမတုတ်ရုဉ္ဇိကီ။ လောဟိတဂီရော။ ခေမုာ်ကွပ်မတုတ်ရုဉ္ဇိကီလောဟိတာကီ။ နိလဝဏ္ဏဇလိတော။ ခေမုာ်သုတဗြင်မတုတ်ရုဉ္ဇိကီလန္တကီ။ နန္ဒမာနောဝတီတိ။ ကာလကျာမပိုက်၌ ကောင်မောမိမချီသိုင်ညိုင်သွာလှေဗမိုင်ညးကီ။ ဟေမဝဏ္ဏော။ မုာ်ကီလျားမတုတ်ရုဉ္ဇးထင်ကီ။ ရဝိသုရဇလိဝ။ မုာ်လျားမတုတ်ရုဉ္ဇးတွဲကီ။ ဟေမလိလာဝိလာသော။ မုာ်ဂတိလအာမဒ္ဓိထင်ရုဉ္ဇးထင်ကီ။ သောဇောမိရကော။ င တို့မေါမိ၌။ ဟောတိ။ ပုံ၌ကံအသန္တံ။ နိ ဇရောင်မောမိ၌။ ဥပဂနိတွာ။ ကျပ်တည်အာတို့။ ခိုင်မောမိ ၇ တွဲဟံဂုံလွှဲမတ်ရ။ တတိယံစက်မာနုတ္ထ။ ပဲ့တတိယသတ္တယ၌။ တပဲ့သို့စင်ဩရတ် ၇ တွဲ။ စတုတ္ထဃရံ။ ဒေဝပနိသတ္တယ၌ပဲ့သို့ရတ် ၇ တွဲတွဲ။ ပညမံအာဇ္ဇပါလည။ မသုန်သတ္တယ ကလောင်အာ၌ပဲ့ ဖြဲအာဇ္ဇပါလ၌ပဲ့။ မုစလိန္ဒနုတ္ထမံ။ ဩသတ္တယမံပဲ့ မုဇာဇလိန္ဒ။ သို့နာမိ သုဇာနုဉ်ကံ မဇ္ဇေဗဒ လင်မြိကီကျပ်။ သတ္တမံရာဇာယတနံ။ ၇ သတ္တယကျပ်အာ၌ရာဇာ ယတနုသွင် တို့ဆုမပိုနိ ၇ တွဲ။ ၇ သတ္တယ၌ထာနိ ၇ စွဲ။ ၅ ၄၉ တွဲ။ ပဲ့ ၄၉ တွဲအာဟာဉ်ကီ ကျပ်တည်ဟံဂုံလွှဲမတ်ရ။ ပနိဉ္စောဒိတိတွဲကလိထောန်အာတို့ အာဝံနာသုပမန်သံဇူတပူဇူတမင်ရ။ ကာလမဒ္ဓိဗ္ဗိနိနာသုပမန်၌။ မမေင်ဟံဂုံလွှဲတို့ကျပ်တို့ချပ်ရ။ ထင်ရအဲသျှင်ကေတ်နဂတာထဲအဲမှူး။ ကောန် အဲဂဏီတံအာနာဂတ်ဂတဒေဝဒေဝတာထဲရသွံ။ ကျပ်တည်ဇောရဏာတို့ ပဲ့ကထာ၌ သို့စတုမဂ္ဂာတ်ပနိ ကေတ်ဇောဟ်နင် ဗဗေင်တံပနိစွဲဗြဟ္မကျပ်လဏ်ကောသို့ဗဗေင်ပနိသွယ်၌အာစွဲတို့။ ကျပ်တည်ဇောရဏာနာသုပမန်ဇူတပူဇူတမင်ရ။ ညးဇောကောကီဇောအာတ်ပူဇာနိယဝဏ္ဏရ။ ကျပ်တည်တိယမုာ်ပိုနိဇောရဏာတို့။ ညာတ်နီ သိင်ဃုတ္တရမ၌ရပ်ပြကာမိုင် ၉၉။ မဒ္ဓင်ယျာ ၅ သင်။

ညးယျာ ၅ သင်၌ရော။ ပေါက္ခရဝတီစွဲ။ သီဟနာစွဲ။ ပညဝဏ္ဏစွဲ။ ပသာဝဏ္ဏစွဲ။ သိင်ဃုတ္တရစွဲ။ ဣဝံမ၌ ၅ သင်ရ။ သမ္ဘုညာတ်တို့။ ကိုင်ညးဇောကောကီဇောဒိနိသီ ၅ သီသရဏဂမနိတို့။ သမ္ဘုညာတ်တို့ယျာညးဇောကောကီဇောရ။ ကော၌ဇောဇော၌တဏှိကကျပ်ပညာပိလင်ယျာညးဇောရ။ သမ္ဘုညာတ်ကိပ်တို့ဝါတ်သော်ဒေဝါတူင်ဗျာဉ်ကီဇောထာဏှိကရ။ ပဲ့ကထာအသတ်ပနိဉ်ကံတွဲ ၃၅။ ဝါတ်သော်ဒေဝါတူင်ကျပ်ပြင်ဖျာကီ ကောန်မိုင်ဇောကီ ၆ထရတ် လင်ပဲ့ကိပ်ဇောသိင်ဃုတ္တရရ။ ထာန်ခိုင်ကျပ်

ထာပနာ၊ ဓါတ်စွဲမြီနိတ်ရှင်ရာမဂါ။ ဓါတ်စွဲမြီနိတ် တပွဲရှင်ဝတ္ထုဒိပ္ပက။ ဓါတ်စွဲမြီနိတ်ရှင်ပါဝ။
ဓါတ်စွဲမြီနိတ်ရှင်ရုဏ္ဏာနာရံ။ ဣဒ္ဓိဓာတ်စေတီစောဂါစုံရ။

ဥပဇ္ဈာန်စာသင်ညးဟွန်စေတီစွဲတူင်ဒြိမိတ်တူင်ရ။ သျှိုင်ထင်သူဓာတ်၌။ ဗမ္မုးမြောနဟွန်လင်စေ
တီစွဲတူင်ဒြိမိတ်၌ တူင်ရ။ ကာလ၌ ဓါတ်ဂဓာတ်မတ်ညှိတ်ပွဲသို့တွဲရ။ ဓါတ်ဂဓာတ်မတ်ဖွတ်ပွဲ
သို့မိတ်။ ဓါတ်ဓာတ်ပန်နောတူင်တပွဲရ။ မန်ပိရ။ ဓာတ်သော်ဇကုကျပ်စောဂါကိုတ်။ သော်ကျိပ်စိတ်
ကိုတ်ဓာတ်တံ၌ဒေဝတရ။ ထင်အလုံစက္ကဝါပိုဝံရ။ ဓါတ်ဂဓာတ်ညှိတ်တူင်သိုသော်ဝန်ဇာတာ။ သို
ယာတ်ဓမ္မိတ်ထဲကျပ်တပွဲရှင်တာဝတ်။ ဓါတ်ဂဓာတ်ညှိတ်သွင်တရှင်နာ။ ဓါတ်ဂဓာတ်ဖွတ်သွင်တဂန္ထ
ရ။ ရှင်ရှင်သွင်ထော။ ဓါတ်ဂဓာတ်ထဲတူင်ရှင်ကလိင်ကရ။ ကြံစွဲကွပ်တရှင်သိင်သိုရ။ ဗမေင်သွာ
စုနိတ်ရှင်ဝန္တရ။ သျှိုင်တရှင်ကုဏ္ဍဝတီ။ ထွဲဂဓာတ်ရှင်သီလဝ။ ကာယဗန်တရှင်ပါတလိပုတ်။
သွက်ရှင်တရှင်စွဲခါနာရီ။ ဓာတ်သော်ဥက္ကဏ္ဍသော်ကွေင်မစောတိုက်၌။ တကောသလရ။ မှူးရှင်သာရ
၌ရ။ နှိပ်ကျပ်တရှင်မြီ။ ယာတ်ဓမ္မိတ်နိတ်တရှင်ပါသဏာက။ သွာဝဇ္ဇာကျပ်တရှင်အာနန္တိ။ ဖိင်ဗ
ဂုတ်ပုတ်ဇကောဗဂုတ်ပုတ်တရှင်မိတ္တိ။ မေင်ကရိန်တရှင်ဒေဝတဏ။ ဖန်နိတ်တရှင်ပတ္တနာရီ။ ပွဲထာန်
ရ။ မန်ပိဝံ၌။ ဓါတ်သော်ဇကုကို။ ဓာတ်သော်ဇကုကို။ ဓာတ်သော်ဂဓာတ်မတ်ကို။ ဓာတ်မြိတ်ကိုမိတ်ကို။
ဓာတ်ဓာတ်ကို။ တရ။ ဓါတ်၌၌သန်ရ။ သိုက်ဝံတီစွဲတရ။ ယင်သွယ်မွဲ။ ပွဲဝံပတ်ကို။ ပွဲဓာတ်ဝင်
ကို။ ရံင်ကေတ်ရ။ ခွဲဝံပိုဟိုစွဲကမ္မန်ရောင်။

ပွဲလွင်ဓါတ်ပိုဟိုဝံ၌။ ဩပုရိစွဲဝံသန္တိစွတ်ထင်မွဲ။ ဝံလ၌ဗန္တိဝံသဏာဝံ လလှင်သူစရိတ်ဝံ
လွှာဝံလမိုက်သိုက်ကာလမွဲ။ ဝံမွဲအာပိပန်တိုရ။ တိုအာမိုက်ရှင်သွင်တရတိုတင်။

ပွဲဓာတ်ဓါတ်ကျပ်ဩဆိုတ်သိုဝံ၌။ ဓါတ်သော်ဇကုတူင်စေတီလှင်ဝံ၌။ ခြံဓာတ်ဓမ္မာကိုပိကွာဆိုတ်
ရ။ ပွဲသိုက်သိုက္ကရတုန်လေပ်။ ခြံမံဓာတ်ကျပ်သိုသန်ရ။ ဟိုက်၌ရထာန်ဓာတ်လှင်၌တူင်တွဲ
ရ။ စောကာလတူ။ ညးမေးခွေါ ဓာတ်၌ရောင်။

ဥပဇ္ဈာန်အာသုညဂရညးဟွန်ပဗ္ဗတ်ရ။ ပွဲလက်ထက်သို့အသောကဓမ္မရာဇာတလရှင်ပါတလိပုတ်
ဥပဇ္ဈာန်ဓါတ်သော်ရ။ ပွဲတတိယသံဃာယန၌။ ကျပ်ပပရိနိဗ္ဗာန် ၂၁၈ သွတ်တူ။ သက္ကရာဇ်ရှင်
၃၉၆ ကာလ၌သို့အသောကဓမ္မရာဇာကိုအာဠာဓမ္မိတ်ဓါတ်သော်တူ။ တလအာရှန် ဓါပုဂ္ဂလိပုတ္တ ကို
ဥက္ကဏ္ဍရထေ။ မဟိုဓာတ်ကိုဓမ္မိတ်ဓာတ်သော်၌တဓာတ်သို့တူ။ ဟိုက်ဓာတ်သုညဂရရအာဠာဓမ္မိတ်ဓာတ်တ
ရံဟွန်စွဲ။ လိုက်ညးအာ။ ထေတလအာရှန်ဓါတ်လထဓာတ်သို့တီဓမ္မိတ်ဓါတ်တူ။ ကိုဓာတ်တရ။ ဆုရန်က
မှတ်ထန်တံ၌တူ။ သို့ဓာတ်လင်ပြာသာတ်ဗွတ်ရှိုတ်စုတ်အင်ဂရိစုတ်ဩန်နောတ်ထင်တူ။ သို့အသော
ကဓာတ်အာသာန်ဓမ္မိတ်ဓာတ်ရ။ ၁။

သို့အသောကဓမ္မရာဇာဓာတ်သွင်တူ။ ပွဲလက်ထက်သို့တတိယဓမ္မိတ် ဇက်နွေရသိုပြေဒွင် သိုဒို
ပွာန်။ သို့ကိတ္တုနိဗ္ဗာန်ဓာတ်သော်ဗျပ်တူ။ ပွဲမဗ္ဗေတ်ကိုဗျပ်ဓါတ်သော်၌။ လမိုက်ဇော်တ္တိ၌ပဟွန်မာန်
တူ။ ကျိုင်ထင်စွဲတံ၌သိုမိုက်။ ကလံပုဇ်ဓါတ်စွဲမိုက်အာဠာဓမ္မိတ်ဩန်နောတ်ထင်တူ။ ကလောင်တိုန်
အာရှင်ဇကုရ။ ၂။

ပွဲလက်ထက်မေင်ဓမ္မာဓမ္မိတ်ဓာတ်ကျပ်ကေတ်ဏာဓါတ်ကိုဗျပ်တူ။ ပဟွန်မာန်တူ။ တွဲမြသံမြာဏီ
စွဲကောန် ပဟွန်လောင်စွဲတူ။ စွဲမိုက်ပလိုက်တိုက်လင် ပပုဇ်ကလံဓာတ် ကျပ်ဩတူ။ တိုန်အာရှင်ဇ
ကုရ။ ၃။

ပွဲလက်ထက်သို့နောင်ရထာမေင်ဇင်*။ သို့နောင်ရထာဗမာတ်မဟို။ သို့ဇက်နွေကျပ်ရှင်ဇကု
တူ။ ဗျပ်နိဗ္ဗာန်ကိုဗျပ်။ ယာ်ကျိန်တိဗမာတ်မိုက် ၂၀ မဗျပ်ဓါတ်ဂဓာတ်ကိုရ။ လမိုက်ကျာမဇော်ကိုမြ
ထတ်တ္တိ၌တူ။ အလုံဒိုပွာန်သို့နောင်ရထာ၌ပေတ်အာဆိုတ်။ သို့နောင်ရထာတုန်။ ကျိုင်ထင်ကျိုင်

* One Ms has မန္တရထာမေင်ဇင် and another has သွာင်ရထာမေင်ဇင်. But see note on translation.

ဩန်ခန့် တွဲကတံခတ်ကျော်ရ။ မိုက်ရတ်ပိပူလပပ်တိုပပူဖလင်မိုက်သောန်တု။ ကလောင်ခအာထာန်
ခမင်ဇကုရ။ ၄။

လွင်ကေရုတ်မဟွင်ရင်ရှင်ဟင်သာဝတီတုန။ ကျပ်တြိပပရိနိဗ္ဗာန်လုကလွှိတု ၁၆ သူတံတု။ ပဲ့သ
က္ကရာတ်ရှင်ကတိယပရိစ္ဆေဒ၌။ ၅၁၄ ဝိတုမာ ၁ ခွေကံတွဲစန်သို့အိန်ဟန်ကို ရှင်ဟင်သာဝတီအာဒိ
ပထမ။ ဇိန်ကိုသမထပိမလ။ ညးစါကောကိုခေမဝံဟွင်ရင်ရ။ သမထဟွဲတု။ ပိမလဟွင်ရင်ရ။ ပိမလ
ဟွဲတု။ သို့အသးမဒြကောန်သမထဟွင်ရင်ရ။ သို့အသးဟွဲတု။ ကောန်သို့အသးဒ်အရိန္ဒမကုဗ္ဗာ
မဟွင်ရင်ရ။ အရိန္ဒမကုဗ္ဗာဟွဲတု။ ကောန်ခေမထင်သာရာဇာတ်မဟွင်ရင်ရ။ နလွင်သင်ဝံဒီမမိုက်သို့
တိဿရာဇာတ်သို့ထွဲတု။ ကောန်ခေမထင်သာရာဇာတ်မဟွင်ရင်ရ။ သို့တံတေတိဂုန်သာသောဆိုတ်ရ။
ယိုက်မိုက်သာသောဆိုတ်ရ။ ရှေ့ဗြဟ္မာရတ်မိဒကံကျပ်တြိပပရိနိဗ္ဗာန်ဟန်ကို ရှပ်ကျပ်။ သျှင်သျှိတ်ရတ်မိပြ
ကာပွဲ၂၅၁၂။ မင်သီပင်မိခပ်ပွင်တာဝနာ။ ဒဂေတ်မက်ဂလာန်သာသောသို့မဆိုတ်ရ။ ပဲ့သို့တိဿရာ
ဇာမဒြကုတ်ထွဲတု။ သို့ဒ်အာသို့မိန္ဒာဒိထွဲတု။ ဒ်ဗေဒဝေဒတ်။ ကျပ်ဟွဲလွင်ခပ်ဟွဲ ပင်မိခပ်
ဂဒီဗမ္မဟွဲရေယံဗြဟ္မာရ။ ရှပ်ကျပ်တံဂုန်ထွဲမိတ်ထေဝံပဲ့သင်ထွဲပဲ့သရိမဆိုတ်ရ။

တြိပကောန်မြသေထီဗွဲ။ ပတလခပ်သဒ္ဓါစာဂမလောန်။ တမြဒေဝီဂးယျ။ သမတ်မြဒ်အာယုတ်
မဒြသွတ်တိတ်ကလင်ပင်မိခပ်လျှိုနဂကောန်မိမဇကုတု။ သျှင်သျှိတ်ရတ်မိပြကာလောန်။ ဒဂုန်ကေတ်
သရဏ ဂမနပိလျှိုနရိတ်တုရ။ ဒဂကောသမတ်မြဒ်ပထမအာဝံ။ ကာလ၌ ရသို့ကျိညးထေဝံကေတ်ရပ်
ကျပ်တံဂုရ။ နွဲကာလဗွဲတုသမတ်မြဒ်ဟိုတုသပေါတ်ဒဂရပ်ကျပ်ရ။ သမတ်မြပင်ပိတ်ဒ်ရပ်ကျပ်
သိုထင်မရိတ်ဟိုဒ်ရ။ မူပညးမထေဝံထင်ရပ်ကျပ်တံဂုရောသမတ်မြသွာန်။ ထိုဒ်ကံမြဒ်မုတ်တံဂုဟို
တုနိရ။ ယွဲမိ။ သို့ဒ်ဒေဝတ်မက်ဂလာန်အာစာတံဂုတု။ ကိုညးတံထေဝံကေတ်ရပ်ကျပ်တံဂုရော။ ဒွဲညး
လွင်ရှေ့သျှိကျပ်စေတိတံဂုသို့ကျိဂမိုက်ထေဝံကေတ်ရ။ သင်ဒ်ဒိုက်မြတံဂုဂး။ သမတ်မြမိတ်တုသွးရ။
ဒ်ရသင်ဒ်အသလးထျှိုပဲ့ရတ်မိရ။ အရင်ဂမိုက်ရသမတ်မြဂး။ မူးတံကြာတ်ကြတု။ ပင်ကျိနီလင်
ပဲ့ဗြဟ္မာညးတု။ ဇကုသမတ်မြသိုဒ်ကံဂုကြာတ်ပင်ကျိနီလင်ပဲ့ဗြဟ္မာညးတု။ ဒွဲသမတ်မြ
သွာတ်ဒဂရပ်ကျပ်ဒ်ပတ်အာတု။ ဒွဲသွာတ်ဒါညးမဂးလွတ်တံဂုရော။ ဒွဲမပင်ကျိနီကြရပ်ကျပ်
ပိတ်အာတု။ ပင်ကြညးလွဲလွဲထေဝံရော။ ပဲ့သမတ်မြကျိနီရပ်ကျပ်သို့မိခပ်အာတု။ သို့စကာမုတ်သို့
ကိုဒ်ကောသွတ်မြရ။ ထမိန်မတ်အနတ္တရတ် ဗွဲသမတ်မြကျိမုတ်သို့တံဂုတု။ ကိုလဇာဒ်ညီကွာဂးတု။
သမတ်မြကွန်ကြာတ်ရပ်ကျပ်ဆန္ဒတံဂုတု။ ကိုပင်ကျိနီဒ်ဆိုတ်ရ။

မာတ်ထံအာညီသို့စကာထပ်မုတ်သို့ပုန်ရ။ ပဲ့ကာလ၌သမတ်မြဒ်ကျိကျပ်ရ။ ဒ်သမတ်မြမမိုက်
ညးကျိသို့ရ။ သို့မိခပ်သိုဒါသသင်ဝံ ဟိုကျိညးကေတ်ဇာကိုမိခပ်ယန်နီမမိုက်ကေတ်ခေသို့ဂး
တုညးကေတ်နင်မိခပ်ရ။ သမတ်မြဖေမေတ္တာပဲ့သို့ကျိ။ ပဲ့မိခပ်ကျိ။ ပဲ့ဂမာမိခပ်ကျိ။ တုဗုဒ္ဓံသရဏံဂန္ထာမိ
ထေဝံ။ သိုသရဏဂမနပိ၌သမတ်မြဒ်ခေသတ်ဒ်လျှိုနတု။ မိခပ်တံဂုလောပံ ကခေဒ်ကျိရဟွင်
တုဗျာတာဟွဲမာန်ဗြဟ္မာဒ်အာရ။ ခေကေတ်နင်မိခပ်မဂ္ဂါကျိဝါကျိ။ မိခပ်ဟွဲလောနီရ။ ဒ်ဒ်ဂမာမိခပ်
လွင်ကျိသို့ပုန်ရ။ သို့မိခပ်တု သင်ဝံသွးရ။ ဒ်ရသင်ဒ်ဗြဟ္မာထံတု ကိုမိခပ်သို့ဂး။ သမတ်မြဖေ
မေတ္တာတုဖေသတ်သရဏဂမနပိရ။ ခေကေတ်မိခပ်ဟွဲတု။ ဒ်ဒ်ခေလွင်ကျိသို့ပုန်ရ။ ဒ်ရသင်
ကေတ်နင်ခေသတ်သို့ဂး။ ညးကေတ်နင်မိခပ်သို့တု။ သင်ဝံသို့ဂး။ ထာသမတ်မြအာခေဗြဟ္မာဒ်
ရှပ်ကျပ်အာခေကျိကလောင်စတန် ဒ်လတုဇကုသဆန္ဒအညာတ်တု။ ခေဒ်မူးထျှို၂၅။ ယာ်ရှပ်
အခါခေကလောင်ဟွဲဒ်ထွဲဒ်ကုတ် အကုတ်ကေတ်ခေရ။ သို့ဂးတုကျိပိတ်ဇာသမတ်မြမိခပ်ထွဲ၌ရ။ သ
မတ်မြပင်ကျိနီရပ်ကျပ်ပဲ့ထွဲ၌တု ကြာတ်ရှပ်ကျပ်ဒ်ဂမာမိခပ်ကျိ။ ဟွဲဒ်လင်ဒ်ဒ်ဒ်ဒ်ဒ်ဒ်ဒ်ဒ်
သင်ဝံသမတ်မြပအာမိထာန်ရ။ ယွဲရှပ်တိထမ္မုပုန်အဲဒ်ကံဗြဟ္မာထံဂလာန်ကျပ်သလးထျှိုပဲ့ရတ်မိတု။
အဲဒ်ကံပင်ကျိနီရပ်ကျပ်ရ။ ကျပ်ဗြဟ္မာန်ရ။ ခပ်ဗြဟ္မာန်ရ။ သင်ဗြဟ္မာန်ရ။ ယာ်ရကျပ်ခပ်သင်ဗြ
သောန်ကေတ္တရသွတ်။ ရှပ်ကျပ်စာဇကုကျိကလောင်စတန်ဒ်လတုဇကုသပဲ့မုတ်ရသို့တေညီအာ။
သင်ဝံသမတ်မြပအာမိထာန်ရ။ ပဲ့ဗျိုနဇာတ်ရှပ်ကျပ်ဒ်ဂမာမိခပ်ကျိ။ ဇကုကလောင်တိုန်အာလကုအာကာသရ။ ဒွဲဒ်

ပသင် ၁၃ ရွှေကံတွဲအမြတ်ရှိမိတ်ကွန်ယာယောင်။ ပွဲကံတုန့် ၁၃ မံက်တွဲသိုက်ရှိမိတ်မေပြ။ တလညးအံင်ဇဲယျာ အာမိတ်အနိစ္စဝေဒ္ဓာဲရ။ တလညးအံင်ဇဲယျာပွဲမိတ် ဖြိုဟ်ညှာတ်စေန် သယာသီလောန်သန်။ ဟံ့ပိုတ်ယဇျါသက်သက်ရောင်။ ဂမိတ်ကွဲဂဒ္ဓိဂမ္ဘိုင်တု။ ခြံမမေပသဲသွာမြေဝံက်ကေတ်ဏာရ။ ခြံသွာယာတ်ယန်တံက်ပကွဲလှိုင်စိုင်း။ လှိုင်ပစုန်လှိုင်ပခါလှိုင်ပယာတ်ယာ။ သွာပြးခွံင်အလိုက်ပုင်စီလှိုင်ရ။

ပွဲသက္ကရာတ် ၁၁၁၃ ရှ်တလညးအံင်ဇဲယျာ ပသီပွဲမုက်ဆောင်ပေါင်ရ။ ပွဲပသီ ၉ သွာဲတု။ ပွဲသက္ကရာတ် ၁၁၂၂ ရှ်။ တလညးအံင်ဇဲယျာအာမိတ်အနိစ္စဝေဒ္ဓာဲလှိုင်မေပြရ။ ကောန်ထလညးအိန်သေတခေင်ထက်ဂးယျာ ပသီကေရာတ်ပွဲပုင်မုက်ဆောင်ပေါင်ပွန်ရ။ ပွဲပသီမိသွာဲတု။ ပွဲသက္ကရာတ် ၁၁၂၅ ရှ်ကံတုတိုန် ၁၁ မံက်တွဲအမြတ်တလညး တခေင်ထက်အာမိတ် အနိစ္စဝေဒ္ဓာဲပွန်ရ။ ခေတခေင်ထက်ရှိတခေင်မြေဂးယျာ။ ပွဲပသီကေရာတ်ပွဲပုင်မုက်ဆောင်ပေါင်ပွန်ရ။

နမဟိုကျင်ကွောင်ကေသောင်ကေရာတ်ဂလိုင်ပွဲရ။ မုဂ်သိုက်ပွဲကျိ တထပညာတ် ညးဂမ္ဘိုင်ပွန်ရော။ "ဆိုက်ကိုသိုက်ကေရာတ်တညးဂမ္ဘိုင်မဆက်ဆေန်ကျင်ပွဲကွောင်ကေတောင်မှာသာမန္တကေတု။ မတြက်ကျင်ဒိုကိုသမထဝိမသပွဲမပကျင်သိုက်ဆက်ဆက်ဒိုကိုလွတ်ပွဲရ။ ရှိုင်ကိုလှိုင်ကောင်ရှိုင်ကိုလက်ကေတောင်ပကျင်သိုက်။ သိုက်ပွဲသိုက်ပွဲအနိစ္စမိန်မြေမန်သိုက်မိတ်ရ။ အဋ္ဌာယ်ဂးတု။ ပွဲပသီတုတိုကျိခါထိုင်သလှိုင်ကွောင်လှိုင်မြေ။ ခန္တီလင်ပြယေန် ပြယံက်တု။ ကြိုပြာတ်လင် သွင်ဗျာတ်ကံတုသေနာတ် အခွံက်မြေကျွဲကပလောကဂရး။ ပေါပ်စွာံ ဂလိုင်ရီ။ ဓါတ်လွယ် ညိုင်သွာဲစူးသိုက်မိတ်ပတ်လှိုင်လွတ်ဗျာတ်ဗျာတ်တောင်။ တွဲကေရာတ်တံက်ရောင်ဟံ့သေင်ဟာ။ ရှ်ကေရာတ်တံစီရေင်ကြိုပရာပ်ပွဲခွံင်ဇဲကုတ်တုနီယေ။ ဆဗွတ်ညးစွဲကိုပွဲစူးသိုက်မိတ်ဟံ့စွဲ။ မပွဲစူးအာပွဲညှာတ်သိုက်မိတ်ဟာဟံ့စွဲသွံ။ သိုက်သိုက်တံက်မေးခွဲမိန်မြေမန်သိုက်မိတ်သိုက်မိတ်တုရောင်ဟံ့သေင်ဟာ။

မိန်သိုက်ကေရာတ်တံက်မုဂ်ကျိပိုန်ဟာန် မဂ္ဘိုင်ကျိသိုက်ညးမဂ္ဘိုင်ကျိမိတ်မေးလောန်တံက် တုနီယေ။ မေးလောပ်အာညှာတ်သိုက်မိတ်သိုက်မိတ်တုရ။ ဆိုက်ကိုပိုညးဂမ္ဘိုင်လှိုင်ပွဲဂဒ္ဓိကိုဂရယ်တု။ ဇန်တြိမြေညးဂမ္ဘိုင်ကျိမုဂ်သွက်စူးညှာတ်သိုက်မိတ်သွက်တုနီရော။

ဟိုက်ရှ်ရတထပညာသာဓုဇန်တြိမြေညးဂမ္ဘိုင်ကျိပွဲတု။ လွစွာ်ပွင်ကျိဝေင်လောထညိ။ လွဂလိုင်ခေင်ခေါသညိ။ လွဂလိုင်လင်ခေင် မောထညိ။ ဝေတ်မိတ်ကောပ်မိတ် ပြေန်ခေတ်မိတ်ကျိမိန်ညိ။ ဗမန်လင်ခေင်လောထညိ။ မြပ်ညးဟံ့ကုပ်နပင်နမိတ်လွကေတ်ပွဲအနိင်အထက်ညိ။ လွဒိုကျိကေတ်ညိမြေညးမိတ်ညးလွယ်ရှေင်ကရေင်ဝတ်ရှ်။ လွဂိုင်ကေတ်ပွဲအနိင်အထက်ညိ။ ခွဲပိုန်လောကီပွဲဟံ့တိုက်ကျိသက္ကံ ဂမ္ဘိုင်ရှ် ဗမာရဏာတု။ ဝေတ်မိတ် ကျိရှိုင်ညိ။ သရင်ပေါ် လွစွာ် ပွင်ညိ။ လွညှာတ်မန်ညိ။ လွဂလိုင်ပွတ်ညိ။ လွစွာ်ခေါသညိ။ ပလိုတ်ခေင်မန်ညိ။ ဖျင်သွာ်ရိတ်ညိ။ လွညှာတ်ရဟင်ညိ။ ဂထာန်မညှောင်ညှောင်ညး လွဟိုညိ။ လွစွာ်ထံထက်ညးညိ။ လွပျဲဟုတ်ညးညိ။ လွကွေင် ခေတ်တက်စင်ညးညိ။ လွတ္တိုဗဒ်သွက်ရှ် ကျိရင်ညိ။ ခေတ်ခေင်မောထရှ် ပွေင်ကွေ်တု။ ခေပ်ညာတ္တိုဗဒ်ပသန်ထာန်လှိုင်ညိ။ မေတ္တာမိတ်တ္တိုဗဒ်ကျိရင်ညိ။ ယဒ်မေတ္တာမိတ်သွာ်ဗျာတ်ပွဲသက္ကရာတ်တုရန်မေတ္တာ ၁၁ သင်* ကျင်တြိတွံထင်ရှ်။ ပွဲပိုက်ပေင်တုလှိုင်ရ။

ညးစူးဂုန်မေတ္တာ ၁၁ သင် ကျင်တြိတွံထင်ရှ်ရော။ ယိုင်သိုက်ဌာယ်သိုက်ခွယ်သိုက်ကလောင်သိုက်ထွယ်ဗျာတ်ကံတွဲအခွံက် သေနာတ်ပန်ပွဲစူးဥပုတ်ခေင်တု။ ဂျိဟံ့တိုန်မိတ်တန်တောင်ခေဝတ်ခေမင်စွဲရ။ မုက်လေ သွိုင်ဂေါင်။ ကာလမပကာဂမိတ်ရှ်ဟံ့ခေပ်ပိင်။ မိန်ဟံ့ပွဲဇွာန်ကျိ။ နတြိမိတ်မေတ္တာပွဲအစာဥပဇ္ဈာန်စုတိအာပွဲမိတ်ပုင်မြိုင်လေင်။ သင်ပွဲကျင်တြိတလလိုက်ပိမတွံထင်။

ညိုင်သွတ်မြေတြိခေဝေင်တု။ နတြိမေတ္တာမိတ်သွတ်မြေရှ်တု။ သိုက်ထာရာဇာကျိမိင်လှိုင်မိင်ဟံ့ခေင်လှိုင်။ ပွတ်ခေင်ဟံ့တု။ ဂမိတ်ဟံ့ဗျာတ်ပွေင်ဟံ့လေင်။ သိုက်ပွေင်တေင်မန်တု။ မေးဗျာတ်မိတ်မေးညှောင်ဗက်လောံဇွာန်သွတ်မြေ မေးဂတးတိုဂုန်သာသွာပွန်ရောင်ဟံ့သေင်ဟာ။

* Some Mss have သထင် instead of ၁၁ သင်။ But see translation and note.

ဟိုက်ဂ်ရတလပညာသာဓုဇနိတံ ညးဂမ္ဘိုင်သိုက်ဇကုဆာန်ဇကုမွဲသွတ်ရယဝ်သဒ္ဒါ။ မိတ်ကြိ
ကြိဗြဟ္မစာဂ်ထေဝံကေတ်တု။ မေတ္တာမိတ်မှတ်ဂလိုင်လဝ်ပွဲသန်ထာန်မိတ်လျိုင်ညး ယဝ်သွေဝံဟန်
လဝ်သုစရိတ်တမိတ်တု။ ပိုန်သွင်ကိုမိုဟ်။ မိုဟ်ကိုသွင်ကိုဝံသိုင်မွဲမဂ္ဂိုင်တဝ်တု။ ကွတ်တဲဒေါင်
ကသပ်နန်ထဝ် နိဗ္ဗာန်မမိန် ခြိတ်ကွတ် တသိုက်ဇကုဇနိတံ။ တလပညာသာဓုဇနိ တံညးဂမ္ဘိုင်ကိုဝံ
မသောတ်ဟံဗွဲရ။ ကျပ်တြိတလလျှံး ၆ လဝ်မိတ်တု။ ဒေသသိဘဂါ။ မိန်ကျပ်တြိတလလျှံးကော
လဂ်ရောင်မိဂ္ဂ။

အတ္တဝါသသတညဝ။ သဟဿည။ သက္ကရာဇေ။ သင်္ချီဒိဝဇနပက္ခေ။ ဂ္ဂါဒသသညမိဂ္ဂသိရေ။
တိန္ဒြိဟာရတောဂါဟံ။ မဟာဇနည။ အတ္တယ။ ရာဇာဝံသပကာရဏံ။ သံခေပေန။ သုကာရိတံ။

အတ္တဝါသသတညဝ။ သဟဿည။ သက္ကရာဇေ။ သင်္ချီဒိဝဇနပက္ခေ။ ဂ္ဂါဒသသညမိဂ္ဂသိရေ။
ပုသက္ကရာတ် ၁၁၂၀*။ ဂိတုမြေဂ္ဂသီ ၁၂ ခွက်တွဲအပိုက်၌။ တိန္ဒြိဟာရတောဂါဟံ။ ငါအံ
နိပိုန်တာအစွေဝံတုန်၌။ မဟာဇနညအတ္တယ။ တုံနတုမြမောင်မှာဇနိတံညးဂမ္ဘိုင်။ ရာဇာဝံသ
ပကာရဏံ။ နိပြကိုဟ်ရာဇာဝင်မဒ္ဒိတောင်တောင်သို့အဆက်အဆက်၌။ သံခေပေန။ ဗွဲကမ္မန်ဟေင်။
သုကာရိတံ။ မိန်အံနံ လဝ်ကိုတုမြမောင်သွက်သက္ကံဗွဲကြရောင်။

အမိပါမှာ။ ပုသက္ကရာတ် ၁၁၂၀ ၌။ ဂိတုမြေဂ္ဂသီ ၁၂ ခွက်တွဲ ၁ ၌။ ပြကိုဟ်ရာဇာဝင်မဒ္ဒိ
တောင်တောင် သို့အဆက်အဆက်တော်၌။ တုံနတုမြမောင်မှာဇနိတံ ညးဂမ္ဘိုင်ဗွဲကမ္မန်ဟေင်အံ
နိပိုန်တာအစွေဝံစီရင်လဝ်တုတု။

* The year is omitted in Schmidt's text. Other Mss. do not help, the whole date being omitted. The latest Ms. I have examined, however, gives the date as in my text.

နိဗ္ဗာနပစ္စယောဟေတု။ မိန်တုဆွံရ။

ဗြ။ ပူ။ အာ။ ။ မိဝိသေဝိ။ ။ သောသော သသ အာအ နိဗ္ဗိ။



TRANSLATION.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.¹

Rājāmunindam tiloka aggam, dhammañca saṅghañca namāmi aham.
*Rājāvamsa pakāraṇa bhavam saṅkhepaṃ dassissami yathāraham.*² *Tiloka aggam*—to the Lord who is the Highest in the world exalted above men and angels—*rājāmunindam*—to the exalted Buddha, the King of sages³—*aham*—I⁴—*namāmi*—give reverence.⁵ *Dhammañca*—also to the nine transcendental conditions⁶ followed out in their sufficiency—*saṅghañca*—also to the two Brotherhoods, that is, the *ariya* Brotherhood⁷ and the *samuttaya* Brotherhood⁸—*aham*—I—*namāmi*—give reverence—*tadantaram*—following on in reverence of the Buddha, the Truth, and the Brotherhood—*rājāvamsa pakāraṇabhāvaṃ*—a work which is a history of the kings who have descended from Mahāsāmaṇṭa to the end of their line—*saṅkhepaṃ*—in brief—*yathāraham*—in suitable accord with the knowledge I have gained in hearing and seeing and taking note—*dassissāmi*⁹—I will set forth to the wise.

Tiṇṇa vihāra bhogāham, mahājanam viññānattham, Haṃsāvati puratthaya, vipatti byañcanakkharam.

Tiṇṇa vihāra bhogāham—I, the superior of Acwo' Monastery—*mahājanam viññānattham*—for the benefit of men that they may take up matters in regular succession—*Haṃsāvati puratthaya*—for the benefit of those who have their residence in Haṃsāvati—*vipatti byañcanakkharam*—it has letters and sentences consonants that have become corrupt—*rājāvamsa pakāraṇam*—an historical work recounting the deeds of the generations of kings from Mhāsāmaṇṭa¹⁰ until our exalted Lord—*sasandanatā atthāya*—in order to adjust and arrange in due order—*mañabhāsāya vohāram*—in the Mon language which is the speech of Haṃsāvati—*yathāraham*—in suitable accord with the knowledge I have gained in hearing and seeing and taking note—*karissāmi*—I will set in order.

¹ A Talaing book usually begins with an ascription of praise to the Buddha. This is a very common form. Childers translates: "Praise be to the Blessed, the Sanctified, the All-wise."

² This may be translated: I "reverence the King of sages, the Highest in the three worlds, the Truth, and the Brotherhood. I would set forth in brief a work giving the story of kings."

³ နိ is an abbreviation for နိန္ the sign of the accusative in word for word translation from the Pali.

⁴ ဧ stands for ဝေ the sign of the nominative case.

⁵ ဝိ the sign of the present indicative.

⁶ These are the four Paths, the four Fruitions, and Nirvana:

⁷ The holy Brotherhood of sanctified ones.

⁸ The general Brotherhood who are still practising for promotion.

⁹ ြ the sign of the future.

¹⁰ မဟာမတ္တိ "Mahāsāmatto, The Great Elect." This is the traditional name of the first king chosen by men when they first desired a ruler. The name is variously spelled.

The meaning of this stanza is: I the Superior of Acwo' Monastery having had my heart stirred by loving-kindness will collate, compose, and restore the corrupt lettering of a historical work, that the people of Hamsāvatī who speak the Mon language may gain for themselves a knowledge of the dynasties of kings in uninterrupted succession.

Atite pathama kappe, Mahāsāmanta rājā, rajjam karesi.

After the establishment of the first kalpa our Bodhisatva was king Mahāsāmanta to begin with. This was after sixty-four antarakappas had elapsed from the establishment of the kalpa. Now an antarakappa is this: from the time when a man's lifetime is ten years until increasing a year each hundred years it reaches an asaṅkheyya; from an asaṅkheyya decreasing a year each hundred years until a man's lifetime is again ten years. This is an antarakappa. Twelve antarakappas after the kalpa was established the exalted Buddha Kakkusando appeared. Ten antarakappas after that the exalted Buddha Koṇāgamano also appeared. Ten antarakappas after that again the exalted Buddha Kassapo appeared. Twelve antarakappas after that our Lord the exalted Buddha Gotama appeared. Five antarakappas after our Lord the exalted Buddha Gotama the exalted Buddha Ariyya Metteyo will appear. Twelve antarakappas after the exalted Buddha Ariyya Metteyyo the kalpa will be destroyed. This is the succession of the antarakappas.

When we speak here of the generations of kings, it is not of the king Mahāsamatto of the beginning of the kalpa we speak, but of our Bodhisatva who was Mahāsamatta of the first antarakappa afterwards. So say the commentators of the Mahāvamsa.

From this first antarakappa our Bodhisatva was king Mahāsamatta also. The son of Mahāsamatta was named Roja. The son of Roja was called Wararoja. The son of Wararoja was called Kalyāna, the son of Kalyāna, Warakalyāna, the son of Warakalyāna, Mandhāta, the son of Mandhāta, Waramandhāta, the son of Waramandhāta, Uposatha, the son of Uposatha was called Wara, the son of Wara was called Upawara, the son of Upawara was Māghadeva. From Mahāsamatta until we come to Upawara there were ten generations. From Māghadeva until King Naimi there were eighty-four thousand generations. From King Naimi until we come to King Okāka there were thirty-three generations.

Three generations after King Okāka there was the king called Uggarājā.¹¹ When this king opened his mouth the cavity glowed like fire and for this reason he was called Uggaraja. King Uggarājā had five consorts. Who were the five? Hatthā, Citta, Jantu, Mālinī, and Visākhā. These were the five consorts. The chief queen consort had nine children, four sons and five daughters. Who were the sons? Okākamukkhā, Katananda, Korasini, and Paroja. These were the four sons. Who were the five daughters? Piyā, Supiyā, Anandā, Jivitā, and Jivitasenā. These were the five daughters. The chief queen having had nine children died. The king again had a son, Canda by name, born him by another and lesser queen.

¹¹ *ဝဋ္ဋရာဇာ* = Uggarājā. P. *ugga*, "fierce, violent," *rājā*, "king, ruler."

This queen having made entreaty many times, Canda was made Viceroy. Then the king thus spoke to his elder children: "O children, at the price of my pleasure in the queen, I have made my youngest son Viceroy. Take eight ministers and go to a place where your life will be safe. When I am no more, come back and be king in my place." Thus he spoke to his children. So when the four sons went away the five daughters also went with them. Such people as were well disposed toward them followed after the princes. The host that followed extended to three yojanas.¹² The princes thus deliberated: "In the strength of this host of ours we could easily attack a city and take it. Is the earth, however, so narrow, and why should we seek to increase demerit?¹³ Let us build a city," they said. Marching forth into the forest they came to our Bodhisatva who was the hermit Kapila.

The site of the hermit was a victory¹⁴ site, and the hermit made it over to the princes to build a city which was called Kapilavastu. Fearing that the line of the princes would become extinct, the ministers arranged marriages¹⁵ between the brothers and sisters. The eldest sister was put in the place of mother. Afterwards the elder sister became affected with leprosy,¹⁶ and they took her out and entombed her in the forest among the Kalau trees. In a great pit where they entombed the princess, they formed a royal chamber and provided her with wearing apparel,¹⁷ food stuffs, water, and fuel that she might live there for a long time.

At that time the king of Benares was called Rāga. He also had leprosy, and having placed his son on the throne, he himself went out to live in the Kalau forest. Eating of the fruit of the kalau¹⁸ trees he became quite free of leprosy and remained in the Kalau forest.

It came to pass one day that in the night a tiger came and scraped the earth at the edge of the pit, and the princess fearing trouble cried out. The tiger hearing the sound of a human voice took its departure. The king having heard the voice of the princess, went to look when the day

¹² ယောဇနာ (P), "a measure of length," equal to 12 miles according to Childers.

¹³ သရုပ်ပါပိ "wrong doing, sin" = P. *akusala*, "demerit."

¹⁴ အမှု: "victory." The handbook Lokasiddhi gives a rule for finding the luck or fortune of a city. The length and breadth are to be measured, and the combined number of cubits is to be multiplied by three and divided by eight. The fortune of the city will be according to the remainder found. If the remainder is three, war will not be soon ended, but if four, there will be easy victory. The reference must be to the working out of a calculation of this kind.

¹⁵ ပြေငြိကို "to give in marriage." Fuller forms are ပြေငြိဝါတ။ သူက်ပရေ။ သူက်တို့ပရေ။ သူက်ကြကတ်။ သူက်ကြကတ်ဝါတ။

¹⁶ တမ္ဘီ "yaws." This is the modern application of the term, though 'leprosy' seems to fit the context better. The form of the word is varied. တံ့။ မှီ။ သှီ။ are variations.

¹⁷ မှီနိယာတ် "apparel" in the case of women. မှိတ်ယာတ် is used in the case of men.

¹⁸ It is from this fruit that the Chaulmugra oil used in the modern curative treatment of leprosy is made.

dawned. On finding the princess he brought her to his own place, and giving her to eat of the kalau fruit, she recovered from her leprosy, and the two remained together.

Afterwards a hunter of the city of Benares going out saw them, and returning to the city, informed the king's son. When the prince¹⁹ understood that his father had recovered from his leprosy, he went forth with a great host to bring his father home. "I will not return, my son. If you love me you will build for me a city in this place," he said. The prince built a city and with an army handed it over to his royal father. Because the city was in the Kalau forest, it was named Kolaiyya. Afterwards the name was corrupted and the city was called Koliyya.

The princes and princesses, brothers and sisters, lived on together in the city of Kapilavastu, and their royal father hearing of it, said: "So my children are not allowing my line to die out," and they called them Sākya Vamsa. The Sākya Vamsa came down in succession to His Majesty Vessantara.²⁰ When Vessantara returned to the heavenly regions, his son Jāli became king. His younger sister, Kanhajina, was the king's consort, the chief queen.²¹ The son of Jāli, Sivivahana, again became king. Then the son of Sivivahana, Siharājā, became king. From Siharājā coming on in the succession of his progeny for eighty-two generations we reach King Jayasena. The son of King Jayasena was called King Sihanu. This king was as a lion, and for that reason he was named Sihanu. The children of Sihanu were Sirisuddhodhana, Sukkodhana, and Amittodhana the father of Ananda, three sons; and the two daughters were Amittā and Palitā, these two. The son of Sirisuddhodhana was Sidharta, our Lord Gotama, the exalted Buddha.

Again as to the coming into being of our Lord, the exalted Buddha.

In the year 67²² on Thursday the full moon Āshāḍha, our Bodhisatva came down and was conceived in his mother's womb. When it came to the tenth month the mother of the Bodhisatva had a desire to go out to the Lumbinivana wood. Having asked permission of king Sirisuddhodhana, she mounted a coach and going out arrived in the Lumbinivana wood. With her right hand the mother of the Bodhisatva supported herself on the branch of a sal tree, and with the left arm she held the neck of her younger sister Pajāpati Gotamī. At that time the Bhodhisatva was delivered from his mother's womb. Walking seven steps and making eight impressions, he raised his index finger and called out one verse. The Bodhisatva went and lay down on a gorgeous mat. In the year 68 on Friday at midday the full moon Vaisākha, at noon, when Leo was lagna, the moon

¹⁹ ကောဋိဋ္ဌိ lit. "king's son," "prince."

²⁰ Vessantara is the hero of the last of the ten Great Jatakas or birth stories of the Bodhisatva.

²¹ Jāli and Kanhajina are also leading figures in the story.

²² The majority of the Manuscripts give 97 here and continue that reckoning right through the narrative. Mr. Blagden has pointed out that this does not agree with the chronology current in Burma. He is supported in this by U Thilawuntha A.M.P., a Talaing scholar of my acquaintance. I have therefore set the dates of this era back thirty years throughout.

being in Visākha the sixteenth asterism, the sun in Taurus, and Venus in Aries, he became man at that time. The mother of the Bodhisatva returned to Devadaha, the city of her parents, and after gazing on the face of her child for seven days she returned to the Tusita²³ heaven. She went to become a male deva in heaven again.

The Bodhisatva having enjoyed household life like the bliss which the devas enjoy for twenty-nine years, had a son born to him like a figure of pure gold. He saw the four signs and his heart being stirred he made friends with the youth Chanda and mounting his steed Gandhako fled to the brook Anuma. At the brook Anuma he cut off his abundant²⁴ hair, and making a vow he threw it up into the sky. Indra received it on a golden tray, and taking it up built a pagoda, with sapphire stones for brick and gold dust for mortar, sweet perfume being the mixing water. The height of the pagoda was one yojana, and it was called the Colamuni²⁵ Pagoda. It is there to this day. Brahma brought down the monk's robe which he had kept from the beginning of the kalpa, and gave it him to wear. He changed out of the garments he had worn from home, and throwing them up into the air, made a vow. Brahma received them in a jewelled tray, and taking it up to the Suddhavāsa heavens built a pagoda about twelve yojanas high. The nine precious stones were the bricks, and gold dust was the mortar. The Brahma angels enshrined it, and it remains until this day. The Brahma angels gave it the name of Dutsa Pagoda. At that time the Bodhisatva remained on the bank of the brook Anuma in the Anupiya forest. When he had been there seven days he went²⁶ to the city of Rājāgriha to receive alms. As he went his alms-receiving round, he came to Bimbisāra. King Bimbisāra craved permission to give up his kingdom, it being of the worldly substance which is not permanent, and the Bodhisatva preached to him. King Bimbisāra having heard the doctrine again craved permission of the Bodhisatva.

"O my lord, Sidhartha, when my lord has become the Buddha will my lord vouchsafe to come to my place, the city of Rājāgriha?" "Your request is granted," and the Bodhisatva having thus granted the boon craved for by the king, hastened away to the rock Panduwa. Having partaken of the food provided by the people of Rājāgriha he went his way and reached the hermits Alāra and Udaka. The hermits Alāra and Udaka having inducted him to the practice of Karmasthāna he went practising austerities for six years and reached the sal forest. Indra having come down and played his lute, he went to live at Ajapāla. Sujātā, the daughter of a wealthy man gave forty-nine portions of rice cooked in milk in a golden tray.

²³ Tusitā is the name of the angels inhabiting the fourth devaloka.

²⁴ ഓടിഞ്ഞ P. *vanam* and *jaṭā*.

²⁵ കോലമുനി (P. *cūlāmaṇi*), "a jewel worn in a crest or diadem," *cūlā*, "a topknot, the hair knotted up at the back of the head."

²⁶ 6 "to go home," "to return to ones place." This is the word used of monks approaching household life.

Having received the milk rice with the golden tray, he took it away to the Supatittha bathing-place, which is on the bank of the stream Nirañjarā. He partook of the milk rice, and having registered a vow by pitching the tray and making it sound, the Bodhisatva came to the Sal forest. In the afternoon going from there, he followed along the road which the devas had marked with a footstep. The youth Tinnapāda,²⁷ who carried grass for horses, having given eight handfuls of dubba grass, the Bodhisatva going to the earth's centre and taking the eight handfuls of dubba grass, spread them out and sat down. Not long after a golden Bodhi-banyan one hundred cubits high sprung up. Next a gorgeous, shining seat flush with the earth, having no height, and about fourteen standard cubits broad, appeared. The Bodhi-throne having been formed, the hosts of Māra came. The Bodhisatva looking up saw that Māra had come. The Bodhisatva thought of the ten *paramittas*,²⁸ the thirty *paramittas*, and the five alms-givings. The Bodhisatva pondered on his sixty thousand relatives, and the hosts of Māra scattered and fled. So say the commentators of the Dhātuvansa.

The Bodhisatva came down from the Tusitā heaven and was conceived in the year 67 on Wednesday the full moon Āshāḍha. Leo and Cancer were lagna. In the year 68, on Friday the full moon Visākha he became man. In the year 97, on Sunday the fourth of the light half of Visākha he fled from the city. On Monday the full moon Visākha he became a monk. Having practised austerities for six years, in the year 103, on Tuesday the fourteenth of the light half of Visākha he reached the Ajjapāla banyan. On that day he received the milk-rice of Sujātā. Having pitched the tray, on that day he gained the Bodhi-throne and vanquished Devaputta Māra. The sun was down, and the hosts of Māra having been utterly routed, on that night in the first watch the Bodhisatva gained pubbenivāsāñāna.²⁹ In the second watch he gained dibbacakkhuñāna.³⁰ In the third watch he meditated on samāpatti.³¹ In the fourth watch when day was dawning one half of the disc of the moon was seen as it was setting, and one half of the sun's disc as it was rising. At that time he gained Sammāsambodhiñāna,³² Then the Buddha recounted in his mind his many births.³³ Then the Buddha repeated aloud: Yada have³⁴ and

²⁷ = "Grass cutter" this is not the young man's real name but merely indicates his means of livelihood. His name Mr. Blagden tells me was Sottheya.

²⁸ ဝါရီ "perfection." The ten perfections are: almsgiving, morality, renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truth, resolution, kindness and resignation. These are subdivided into ordinary, inferior and unlimited, thus making thirty.

²⁹ Pubbenivāsāñāna is "the faculty possessed by an arhat of knowing all about his own and other's former states of existence."—Childers.

³⁰ Dibbacakkhuñāna, "the power of seeing all that is taking place in the whole universe."—Childers.

³¹ Samāpatti, "attainment. . . . There are eight samāpattis, attainments or endowments, which are eight successive states induced by the extatic meditation."—Childers.

³² The insight of the highest Buddhahood.

³³ အနෙက (P.) *aneka*, "several, manifold," ဝေ ညီတိ, "birth."

³⁴ From Vinayapitaka Mahāvagga I, 1.

avijjā paccaya,³⁵ thus the exalted Buddha gave voice. Then the one thousand five hundred moral defilements and the hundred and eight passions, were parted from him, and he had victory over Abhisankhāramāra.³⁶ In the end having attained Parinirvāna,³⁷ he had victory over the two Maras. Who were the two Maras? Khandhamāra³⁸ and Maccumāra.³⁹ These were the two Māras. For that reason he is said to have had victory over the five Māras.

What are the five Māras? *Devaputto, kilesoca, abhisankaramāro, khandhamāro, maccumāro, pancamāro pakasito*. *Devaputto*—devaputtamāro is one—*kilesoca*—kilesa one is called—*abhisankharamārako*—abhisankharamāra one is called—*khandhamāro*—khandhamāra one is called—*maccumāro*—maccumāra one is called—*pancamāro*—are the five māras—*pakasito*—the teachers have explained. The Buddha then went and dwelt in seven places.

Pathamam bodhipallankam, dutiyanca animisa, tatiyam caṅkamānañcā, catuttham ratanagaram, pañcamam ajjapālāñca, mucalindena chattham, sattamam rājāyatanam, acariya pakasitta. *Pathamam bodhipallankam*—having overcome devaputtamāra and kilesamāra in the beginning, the exalted Buddha remained seven days on the Bodhi-throne—*dutiyaṃ sattaham*—during the second week—*animisaṃ thānam*—he remained in Animisa⁴⁰ looking back on the form of the Bo-tree for the seven days, never moving an eyelid—*katamo bodhirukkho*—what was the appearance of the Bo-tree? So say the Mhārabhaṅga⁴¹ teachers.

Se tagandho, ujugandho, manimuniramano, lohitaṅkuro, so asattho, bodhirukkho, nilavaṇṇa calito, naccamano vatīti, sambuddho hemavaṇṇo, ravisurajutivi, hemalilāvilāso, tamasatthapagantva, tinna atthasayane, deva-devonisino, yo bodhirukkho sattha. As to the Bodhi-throne of the exalted Buddha, what is the appearance of the Bo-tree?

*Setagandho*⁴²—it has a pure white trunk like a sheet of silver—*ujugandho*⁴²—it has a stem like a rolled candle—*manimunimano*—its opening leaves are red like rubies—*lohitaṅkuro*⁴³—it has sprouts like red jewels—*nilavaṇṇa calito*—it has mature leaves like black gems—*naccamanovatīti*—when the wind blows on it, the branches of the Bo-tree shake and wave like a dancer giving an exhibition of dancing—*hemavaṇṇo*—it has a glitter like the glitter of gold—*rajisurajaliva*—it has a light like the light of the sun—*hemalilāvilāso*—it has a gait which arrays itself like a sheet of gold—*so bodhirukkho*—the Bo-tree—*hoti*—is—*taṃ asantam* to the Bo-tree—*upagantva*—the exalted Buddha having drawn near, viewed the Bo-tree seven

³⁵ အဝိဇ္ဇာပဋိပက္ခာ။ The opening words of the Chain of Causation. See Childers' Pali Dictionary, Art Paṭiccasamuppādo.

³⁶ "Māra as a personification of Karma is called *Abhisankhāramāro*."—Childers.

³⁷ Parinibbānam (P), "attainment of Nirvāna."

³⁸ *Khandhamāro*, the Evil Principle of continued existence.

³⁹ *Maccumāra*, Death.

⁴⁰ *Animiso* (P) "not winking the eyes."

⁴¹ *Mahāvibhaṅga* is meant probably, but I think it ought to be *Dhātuvamsa* as in the other instances.

⁴² The latter part of the compound is for *khando*, "body," "trunk."

days without moving an eyelid—*tatiyaṃ caṅkamaṇaṇca*—in the third week he remained in the jewelled ambulatory for seven days—*catuttha gharaṇaṇ*—in the fourth week having remained in the jewelled house seven days—*pañcamāṇaṇ ajjapālaṇca*—in the fifth week he came back to the Ajjapāla banyan again—*mucalindena chatthāṇaṇ*—in the sixth week he remained in Mucalinda, and the serpent king Vāsukī with his great hood shielded the exalted Buddha from the rain—*sattamaṇaṇ rājāyatanaṇaṇ*—in the seventh week he went to Rājāyatana and remained under the *bapuṇ* tree seven days. Seven weeks at seven places are forty-nine days. During this forty-nine days the exalted Buddha partook of no food whatever. At the end of the forty-nine days he received the balls of milk rice and honey of Ita Pū and Ita Paw. When he was about to receive the offering of milk rice balls, having no alms-bowl, the exalted Buddha reflected: "If I receive the offering in my open hand, my children, the monks in after times will indeed also have to receive food in the open hand." Whilst the exalted Buddha was reflecting, the four Regents⁴⁴ brought down four stone alms bowls, and the Buddha at once putting them together the four became as one. The exalted Buddha then received the milk rice balls of Ita Pū and Ita Paw. The two brothers asked for a memorial relic.⁴⁵ The exalted Buddha, meritorious⁴⁶ Lord having reflected, saw the hill Singhuttara which is the pinnacle of the ninety-nine hills and bears five different names.

What are those five names? Pokkharavatī, Sihanāda, Pancavannā, Pasāda-unnā, and Singhuttara.⁴⁷ These are the five names. Having seen this, the All-wise, made the two brothers observe⁴⁸ the five precepts and the three refuges. The All-wise gave names to the two brothers, to the older Phussa, to the younger, Bhaṇḍika. Thus the Buddha gave names to the two. The All-wise having stroked his head, got eight hair relics and handed them to Phussa and Bhaṇḍika. On Tuesday the fourth of the light half of Āshāḍha, the Buddha gave the eight hair relics to the two merchants to carry home and enshrine on the top of Singhuttara hill, the place (said he) of my friends the three Buddhas of former times. The Buddha granted them to the two brothers. They having received the instructions of the Buddha, and having placed the relics in an emerald casket, went on their return home to the city Ukkalapa. Reaching the middle of their journey, the king of the city Ajettharājā seized two of the relics. Returning to Cape Negrals, the relics gave forth light and glowed away down to the Nāga world, and the nāgas coming up stole away down two

⁴³ The latter part of the compound is for *aṅkuro*, "shoot, sprout."

⁴⁴ ဘုရားရှင်တို့ The four Great Kings, the guardians of the world of men, who rule over the lowest deva-loka.

⁴⁵ *Pāṇiṇiya vatthu*, "an object of veneration or remembrance."

⁴⁶ ဝိလူပိရိန္ "The Lord who has merit," "he who is replete with merit." ဝိရိ (P.) *puṇṇa*, "virtuous, meritorious."

⁴⁷ These are old place names for Rangoon.

⁴⁸ ဝေရိန္တိ "to observe the moral precepts." This is the regular expression for keeping duty. On uposatha days the people present themselves before the monks and are given permission to observe the precepts.

of the hair relics. They returned to the king of Ukkalapa with four relics only. When the two had reached the city, the clouds rained down gems for seven days, and they were wholly priceless gems. All over it rained offerings of hair relics. The two merchants carried them into the building until it was full. The two went and searched for the place where the relics of the three former Buddhas were laid. Searching on for some three years and not finding, as they searched on they found the hill Singhuttara. Having found the hill and seeking, and not yet finding the place of the relics of the three Buddhas, the two were greatly perplexed. At that time the seat of Indra moved and heaved, and having reflected and come down, he called for the three devas⁴⁹ the five devas who were keeping watch over the relics on the hill where the bones were gathered. They found the devas, and Indra questioned them. The devas showed the place where the relics of the three Buddhas lay. The deva of Bamboo Point, Amrūta by name, showed the place where the staff and the mat of the exalted Buddha Kakusando were laid. The deva of the hill Bi showed the relic place where the exalted Buddha, Koṇagamano laid his shoes and his water filter. The deva Rohini discovered the relic place where the exalted Buddha Kassapa laid his robe and his whetstone. The deva of the hill Asuk was the one who received the instructions of the Buddha to enshrine the eight hair relics together with Phussa and Bhandika. The deva of the iron hill had the privilege of enshrining the eyetooth and the Adam's apple of the exalted Buddha Ari Mettayya. In accordance with these various dispositions the devas gave information to Indra. Indra lord of the second heaven⁵⁰ having heard was pleased at heart and had the devas dig in search of the relic places of the former three Buddhas. When Indra had found the relic places of those three Buddhas, he made offerings of valuables without number. Then, too, men and angels everywhere made innumerable offerings to the hair relics. To men and devas alike it was as if the exalted Buddha had descended from the heavenly world.

At that time a lotus plant sprang up blooming on the dry hill and offered itself to the exalted Buddha. Indra grasping his diamond digger and the devas grasping their diggers of gold and silver dug and cleared the relic cave. The length and breadth of it was forty standard cubits, the four sides being equal. The depth was eighty standard cubits, which is three bow sounds. Now a bow sound is twenty-seven standard cubits. Indra having brought forward six great slabs of pure gold, each slab four cubits thick eighty cubits long, and forty cubits broad, put them in and stayed them against the four sides of the chamber. With one slab he laid the bottom, and with another he closed the mouth of the chamber. On the

⁴⁹ ခေဝဝရံ ခု။ Some Mss. omit this. The confusion seems to have arisen from the fact that only three Buddhas had actually come and gone, but as the narrative goes on to speak of the deva assigned to the Buddha then appearing as well as to that pertaining to the Buddha to come, it was felt five had to be mentioned.

⁵⁰ တထာသုဂ္ဂေါလိ။ "lord of the two heavens." Indra is ruler of the five lowest deva-lokas and has his abode in Tāvātīṃśa the second heaven.

top of the slab laid on the bottom he placed a network of gold, a network of silver, a network of gems, a network of pearls, a network of topaz, a network of crystal, a network of sandalwood; he laid a sevenfold network. On top of the sevenfold network he placed seven jars, and filled them with priceless gems of the seven kinds. On top of the seven jars he placed seven couches, a gold couch, a silver couch, a ruby couch, a pearl couch, a topaz couch, a crystal couch, a sandalwood couch. On top of the seven couches, he placed seven divans, a gold divan, a silver divan, a ruby divan, a pearl divan, a topaz divan, a crystal divan, and a sandalwood divan. Above the seven divans he cast pure gold figures of Phussa and Bhandika bearing the carrying pole of a ruby cradle; bending and twisting they faced each other toward the cradle. On the cradle he placed a ruby altar. On the altar he placed a ruby casket. In the casket he laid the eight hair relics.

Indra made a well of the water under the Singhuttara hill, and having ceremonially bathed the relics, he put the eight relics in place. Indra formed six warriors of demon form to keep watch over the hair relics. Out of the drum to strike in making offerings to the hair relics, Indra formed the figure of a demon; Smin Gaw Chāai⁵¹ was his name. Out of the two drum sticks he formed two fingers of demons. One of them was Smin Jambuka, and the other was called Smin Pok Lha. Of the conch shell Indra formed the figure of a demon, Smin Sā by name. Indra's digger was made a demon, who was called the Yaksha Punnaka. Of the diamond seal was made a demon, Smin Jaiyya they called him. Out of Indra's crown was formed a demon called Smin Guiw Dāai.⁵² Indra making a vow formed the six demons and gave them names which remain to this day. The figures of the demons stand yonder on the platform of the Rangoon pagoda.

At that time there was no drinking water for those who did service. Between the rocks of the hill a fountain had sprung up and the water from it was very cool. Men and angels⁵³ were all able to drink their fill. Enclosing this water round, "Let no one touch this water with his feet that all may be able to drink," said Indra. The saying of Indra "Dait hu' kā teh cāng" having become corrupted, "Dait kamlāng In dajū," they now say. "It is very difficult for us to enshrine relics such as these" said Indra. "Oh my excellent pinnacle and crown, let the result of my offering to the relics of the Buddha form in my place a figure of pure gold." Indra having thus prayed, his crown became a statue of pure gold.

Again his consort Sujātā made this prayer, "Let my head and brow ornaments become a statue of pure gold." Having thus spoken these things became a statue of pure gold. Then the consort Sudhamma uttered a prayer. "Let my dress of honour become a statue of pure gold," and it became a statue of fine gold. Then the consort Sunandā made a prayer.

⁵¹ Variants are ခပ်ဆွမ်း, ခပ်ဆွမ်း, ခပ်ဆွမ်း, means "handsome."

⁵² ချိဇ္ဇာ "glowing red."

⁵³ နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝတ်. This apparently is an inclusive expression meaning all intelligent beings.

"Let my shawl pin become a statue of fine gold," and it became a statue of fine gold. Then the consort Sucittā made a prayer. "Let my breast ornament become a statue of fine gold," and it became a statue of fine gold.

Indra made a statue of the king of Ukkalapa of fine gold. He also made statues of Sirisuddhodhana,⁵⁴ the queen consort Sirimāyā,⁵⁵ Pajāpati Gotamī,⁵⁶ Bimbisāra, Rāhula,⁵⁷ Ananda,⁵⁸ statues of the right and left and the eighty disciples, statues of the line of 32 kings of Rangoon. They were all of fine gold. Indra having moulded the statues, made them variously attend on the relics of the exalted Buddha. Indra arranged all as it was when the exalted Buddha was living in the Jetavana Monastery. Indra put down six cakkas to turn night and day until this day. The devas offered golden parched rice and silver parched rice without intermission. The devas offered tapers and candles and kept them burning. Some devas offered ruby gems, strings of jewels, hanging golden flowers, strings of golden flowers, bouquets of golden flowers, celestial jasmine flowers, celestial lilies, celestial lotus flowers, celestial water lilies; perfumed sandalwood powder, and celestial candles the devas offered. Until this day the lights do not go out, the celestial flowers are not withered, and the heavenly perfumes do not lose their smell. Indra registered his vow for five thousand years.⁵⁹

When were the eight hair relics enshrined? if one should ask, it was in the year 103, on the fourth of the light half of Āshādhā on Tuesday, that Phussa and Bhandika received the eight hair relics, and returning to Ukkalapa found that four of them were lost. The king of Ukkalapa having made a prayer, opened the jewelled casket and found that all the eight relics had come back into it. The king with Phussa and Bhandika having seen the relics was much pleased in his mind. Having come and spent three years just looking for the place of the relics, in the year 106, on Sunday the 12th of the light half of Āshādhā when Gemini was lagna, the relics were ceremoniously bathed on the hill Rannaguīw. This hill lies to the north of Singhattara. On Wednesday the full of Phālguna when Libra was lagna, the tithi⁶⁰ and the asterism being propitious, on that date it is fitting to note that the eight hairs were enshrined on the hill Singhattara.

To give now the order of the Buddha's keeping of the vassas.⁶¹ In the beginning the Buddha kept the vassa in the place Isipatanarū Migadāvana near Benares. Sixty disciples beginning with Kondañña became arhans.⁶² On the 15th, the full moon Āsvina, he observed the Pavāraṇa⁶³ festival, and

⁵⁴ The Buddha's father. ⁵⁵ The Buddha's mother. ⁵⁶ The Buddha's aunt and foster mother. ⁵⁷ The Buddha's son. ⁵⁸ The Buddha's cousin. ⁵⁹ In allusion to the duration of the religion of Gotama Buddha.

⁶⁰ ပိတ္တိ (P. tithi), "a lunar day."

⁶¹ ဝုတ် (P. vassa), "the rainy season." It is applied to the time of restriction when each monk must remain in a particular monastery, and it is the term used of a monk's years in the priesthood.

⁶² အာရဟံ "one who has attained the fourth path of sanctification." ⁶³ ပုပုဝါ "to end the Lenten season." သို့ဝါ is the common expression.

⁶⁴ "Hail mendicant."

on the first of the dark half the exalted Buddha proceeded alone to the cotton grove. Thirty princes going out to sport in the woods, came in contact with the exalted Buddha, and asked to become monks. As soon as the Allwise said "Eta bhikkhavo,"⁶⁴ the whole thirty became monks and received the doctrine. On Saturday the 2nd of the dark half, the Allwise reached the hermit Uruvela Kassapa. The Allwise having shown miracles of many kinds, the hermit Uruvela casting down his pride, humbled himself and asked to hear the doctrine. The exalted Buddha having preached, he with his two brothers and a thousand disciples became arhans.

At that time the exalted Buddha crossed over to the Island of Ceylon. At the time when the exalted Buddha reached the Island of Ceylon, there were no men, but demons dwelt on the island. The Buddha asked the demons for a place but they gave him only a mat. The Buddha spread out his skin mat, and on that place there is a pagoda with the name Mahiyaṅga. The Buddha sat down in that place, and from his mat there went forth light like copper water and bronze water, which filled all the island and the demons had no place to stay. The demons fled and crossed to another island. The Buddha having driven away the demons, went away to Giridippa and preached to the devas of Giridippa.

From there the Buddha returned to the hermit Uruvela Kassapa, and the three hermit brothers and their one thousand disciples went together with the Buddha and reached Rājāgriha. King Bimbisāra hearing tidings of the Buddha, marched out with twelve millions of people and asking for the preaching of the doctrine, the exalted Buddha preached the truth. The king with the twelve millions of people became converts. One million of them only managed to undertake the keeping of the three refuges. The king built the Veluvana Monastery, and having handed it over to the exalted Buddha, the Buddha kept three vassas in the neighbourhood of Rājāgriha. When the hair relics were being enshrined at Rangoon the Buddha was dwelling near Rājāgriha. This it is fitting to note.

Having enshrined the eight hair relics, the king built a pagoda of pure gold. He made the mortar wholly of pounded pearls. Indra himself grasped his diamond seal, and Brahma was the architect. Outside the bricks of gold were bricks of silver; outside the bricks of silver were bricks of copper; outside the bricks of copper were bricks of bronze; outside the bricks of bronze were bricks of iron; outside the bricks of iron were bricks of stone;⁶⁵ outside the bricks of stone were burnt bricks. For the seven layers the mortar was all of pounded pearls. He built the sevenfold pagoda and everyone, man and deva was of one mind. The height of the golden pagoda was seven cubits, about the size of a golden umbrella. With the seven outer layers the height of the pagoda was twenty-eight standard cubits. Afterwards the inhabitants of Syriam, the inhabitants of Rangoon, the inhabitants of Hamsāvati, all the people of these three cities built and enlarged it all the time.

⁶⁵ Laterite no doubt is meant.

Whosoever worships at, and makes offerings to, the hair relics, shall be free from the four apayas, and will attain the six devalokas. Thus spoke the Buddha, lord of the three worlds.⁶⁶ So all of us when the season comes, must diligently set out by road or by water⁶⁷ to the Rangoon hair relics. The devas also on every occasion must go and serve the pagoda of the Buddha's hair relics all the time. Whosoever is able to reach the pagoda of the Rangoon hair relics and to worship there, with him the devas all over the universe will be well pleased.

From the time that king Ukkalapa erected the pagoda the thirty-two generations of kings of Rangoon served and worshipped without number. Such is the relation of the origins of the Rangoon hair relics of the Buddha.

To speak again of the lord of merit, the exalted Buddha. Forty-nine days from his becoming the Buddha, he gave the relics to Phussa and Bhaṇḍika. Then he kept the first vassa in the vicinity of Benares. Three vassas were kept at Rājāgriha, which makes four vassas. The fifth vassa was kept at Vesālī, the sixth at Makulapabbata. The seventh vassa he went up to keep in Tāvātimsa.⁶⁸ The eighth vassa he was on the hill Susugiri. This hill is like an alligator and for that reason it is called Susugiri. The ninth he was at Kosambī, the tenth at Palilai forest, the eleventh at the Brahmana pagoda, the twelfth vassa at Verañjarā, the thirteenth in the Bherasakka forest, the fourteenth vassa in Srāvastī, the fifteenth vassa in Kapilavastu. In the sixteenth vassa he was at the place of the demon Alawaga, which is near to the city Alavi. He kept the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth vassas in the forest of Jāla. He kept the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second vassas also in the forest of Bherasakka. He kept the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth vassas on the hill Jāliya. In the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth vassas he was again in Kapilavastu. With these exceptions he kept the vassa in Srāvastī, but the very last was kept in the Vesālī country. The Buddha having kept the vassa in the village of Beluvo, went from there to Kusinara, where in the park of the Malla princes⁶⁹ the exalted Buddha reached his Parinirvana.

At the age of twenty-nine years the exalted Buddha went away and became an ascetic. Having practised austerities for six years, and having attained the Buddhahood at the age of thirty-five years, he remained for forty-five vassas. In his eightieth year the exalted Buddha attained Parinirvana. When Parinirvana had been attained there were eight measures⁷⁰ of the relics of the exalted Buddha. What are the various relics of the

⁶⁶ Kamaloka, rupaloka, and arupaloka, "the worlds of sense, of form, and of absence of form."

⁶⁷ တိုက်တိုက်၌၎င်း၌၎င်း lit. "on foot or by boat."

⁶⁸ The second devaloka, Indra's heaven.

⁶⁹ မြို့မင်းလောင်း This could be rendered either "King Malla" or "the Malla princes."

Mr. Blagden says, "It was an aristocratic oligarchy, apparently."

⁷⁰ Skt. *drona*, a measure of capacity. According to the Pali-Mon Dictionary the *drona* is equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a basket.

exalted Buddha? *Mahantā, muggamāsaca, majjhimā, bhinnatandulā khuddakā, sāsapamattā, imā dhātu visesato.*

Mahantā—a very large relic—*muggamāsaca*—about the size of a kidney bean—*majjhimā*—just a middling sized relic—*bhinnatandulā*—about the size of a half rice grain—*khuddakā*—a very small relic—*sāsapamattā*—about the size of a mustard seed—*imā dhātu visesato*—this is the difference in the size of the Buddha's relics. It is fitting to take note.

Mahantā, suvaṇṇavaṇṇa, majjhimā, muttiruppaca, khuddakabakulavaṇṇa, imā dhātu visesato. *Mahantā*—a very large relic of the Buddha—*suvaṇṇavaṇṇa*—it is like the colour of gold—*majjhimā*—a middle sized relic of the Buddha—*muttiruppaca*—it is like the colour of pearls—*khuddakā*—a very small relic of the Buddha—*bakulavaṇṇa*—it is like the colour of the mimusops seed—*imā dhātu visesato*—this is the difference in the colour of the relics of the exalted Buddha, lord of merit.

Of the eight measures of the Buddha's relics which the Brahman Drona distributed again, one measure of relics is in Rājāgriha, King Ajātasatru having enshrined them; one measure of relics is in Vesālī; one measure of relics is in Kapilavastu; one measure of relics was enshrined by the Malla princes; one measure of relics is in Rāmagam; one measure of relics is in Watthudippaka; one measure of relics is in Pāva; one measure of relics is in Kusinara. These are the eight places of relic depositories.

For the charcoal of heartwood of sandalwood a depository was erected making nine. For the golden vessel with which the relics were measured the Brahman Drona built a depository, making ten depositories. At that time the relic of the right eyeball was with the Sun's Majesty, and the relic of the left eyeball was with the Moon's Majesty. The relics of the forty teeth are in the land of the three Mons.⁷¹ The body hair relics are eight hundred thousand, the hairs of the head were nine hundred thousand and these relics the devas scattered throughout this universe of ours. The relic of the right upper eyetooth with the abundant hair and the hand towel of the Buddha is in Tavatimsa. The relic of the right lower eyetooth is in the Nāga world. The relic of the left lower eyetooth is in Gandhararattha outside of Sandoway.⁷² The relic of the upper eyetooth is in Kalingarattha. Afterwards it went over to Ceylon. The almsbowl, the mat and the staff, are in Vajjirattā. The loin cloth is in Kussavati. The chamber pot is in Silava. The girdle is in Patilaputra. The bathing garment is in Campānagara. The relic of the single hair rising on the Buddha's forehead is in Kosalarattā outside Srāvastī. The cloak of the Buddha is to be found in the Brahma world. The foot mat is to be found in Pāsāṇaka. The Buddha's sitting mat

⁷¹ 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 "The three Mon tribes." The territories assigned to these by Mon writers are Martaban, Pegu and Bassein.

⁷² This is the identification of 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀸𑀓 in the Rajadhirat history.

is to be found in Ananti. The implements for making fire by attrition⁷³ are in Mithila. The water filter is in Devahana. The razor is in Pattanagara. In this land of the three Mon tribes, the relic of the face hair, the relic of the hair of the ears, the relic of the ears, the relic of the eyebrows, the relic of the skull, the relic of the teeth, the relics were dispersed in great numbers. If one wishes to know all about it, one must look up in the Gavampati⁷⁴ book and in the Dhātuwañ. Here we speak in brief.

Whatever person accurately remembers, and considers and meditates on the relics as we have set them down in order, and sets his mind towards them and worships continually, shall be free from the four apāyas and shall reach the six devalokas.

Of all the relics of the exalted Buddha, the eight hair relics of the Rangoon Pagoda are the original and first. On the hill Singhuttara also again are the relic places of all the five Buddhas. Because of this the people of every town and district must, when the time comes, bend their earnest steps in their numbers to the place of the Rangoon relics.

After this it became a waste and no one paid any heed to it. But in the time of king Asoka the lord of Patilaputra, search was made for the place of the hair relics. At the third council when the exalted Buddha had attained Parinirvana 218 years, and the year of the state was 396, King Asoka sent them to search for the place of the hair relics. At that time two arhans Muggalaputta and Uttarathera showed the place of the hair relics to the king. The place having become a wilderness and the old cetiya having completely disappeared. The two arhans having showed the place and the king coming to know of it, he made them clear away the brushwood and rubbish. Then the king built a brick tower covered with plaster, painted with black wood oil and gilded over. King Asoka then returned to his own place.

When King Asoka had returned to the devalokas,⁷⁵ in the time of King Tatabong,⁷⁶ that monarch came marching down from Tharakhettara⁷⁷ with a great army. Having a design to carry away the hair relics, when they began to dig a great storm arose and they were unable to carry out their purpose. He offered a golden umbrella (with) emerald handle and diamond cover, and digging into the south-east set it up there. Then he returned to his own city.

In the time of Mañcesu⁷⁸, that monarch came marching down with intent to carry away the relics, and being unable to accomplish his object,

⁷³ နိုင်မရုတ်ပွတ်ကောပ်ရုတ်ပွတ်. In the commonest form of these implements, the ကောပ် is half a joint of bamboo with a little slit made in the top where it is rubbed by the bow နိုင် (another piece of bambó), to allow the sparks when they come to fall on the cotton wool or bamboo scrapings below.

⁷⁴ This a book giving a supposed itinerary of the Buddha through Burma and neighbouring countries. An edition of it will be found in the Paklat volume Rajadhirat, pp. 26-99.

⁷⁵ i.e. died.

⁷⁶ The king of the Pyu kingdom.

⁷⁷ The old name for Prome or at least for a city in its neighbourhood. The Talaing ခုခိပြေရွှင် looks like Bur. ခုသျှပြည်တွင်း "in the hermit country."

⁷⁸ A king intermediate between Dattabaung and Anoaratha would seem to be required here, though the name suggests Alaungsithu the third king of Pagan following Anoaratha.

he formed a precious emerald into the likeness of an altar, and having buried it on the western side as an offering to the relics of the exalted Buddha, he went up to his own city.

In the time of King Hnorathamāṇjaw,⁷⁹ Noratha the Burmese call him, that king came marching down from Pagan with the design of digging up the relics. As soon as the diggers touched earth, and there were twenty men digging the relic chamber, a very severe storm arose, and the whole army of King Anoratha scattered and fled. King Anoratha again having made gold and silver umbrellas offered them to the relics of the Buddha. Having buried precious gems of other lands⁸⁰ to the north-east, he returned to his own place.

THE KINGS OF PEGU.

We speak now of the kings who reigned in Hamsāvati. The Buddha having attained Parinirvana one thousand one hundred and sixteen years, in 514⁸¹ in the third division of the common era, on Monday the first of the dark half of the month, Magha Indra established the city of Hamsāvati in the beginning. He made it over to Samala and Wimala. These two brothers undertook the government. When Samala was no more, Wimala reigned. When Wimala was no more, King Asaḥ,⁸² who was the son of Samala, reigned. When King Asaḥ was no more, his son Arindamakummā⁸³ reigned. When Arindamakummā was no more, his son Mahimsarājā reigned. In this way until King Tissarājā is reached seventeen generations of kings reigned in Hamsāvati.

These kings were sensible of their obligations to the religion and supported it. They worshipped and revered the three gems; they set up pagodas; they built monasteries; they formed statues of the Buddha. They took pleasure in the three gems, made liberal offerings, kept the precepts, listened to the preaching of the doctrine, and practised meditation. They followed the teaching of the religion all of them. King Tissarājā, however, who was at the end of this line of seventeen kings, having turned to wrongdoing,⁸⁴ became a heretic.⁸⁵ He did not reverence the Buddha, he listened

⁷⁹ This is the conqueror of the Talaing Kingdom of Thaton. The name is variously spelled Anuruddha being in the books usually.

⁸⁰ မိပူလဝံ (P. *vipulo* and *paro*), "other parts," "abroad."

⁸¹ These dates are at variance, giving A. D. 573 and 1152 respectively. The former is the date accepted by Phayre, but it seems much too early. A date much nearer the fall of Thaton would seem to fit all the circumstances better. It is worthy of note that the work Gavampati which is no doubt responsible for the earlier dates also gives an early date for the fall of Thaton, namely, 1176 of the religion, whereas the accepted date is 1600, a difference of over five hundred years. The other date, that given in the common era seems much too late, as it does not allow time for what must have happened between the founding of Pegu and the reign of Warero.

⁸² Asaḥ Kummā is a variant for Smin Asaḥ. This prince is also named Satrujina in allusion to his vanquishment of the Indian invaders.

⁸³ Phayre has Mahimu Arindā Rādā, having tacked on a Talaing expression meaning "by name."

⁸⁴ မိစ္ဆာမိတ္တိ (P.), "heretical." In Talaing as in Burmese it signifies wrong views, or that which is opposed to the prevailing religion.

⁸⁵ ဒေဝဒတ္တိ Devadatta, "the name of a cousin of Buddha who was his enemy and rival." Preceded by မှော် or ရဲ it signifies a heretic.

not to the doctrine, he did not pay respects to monks and ascetics. He made them lift up the statues of the Buddha and throw them all into the water and into the mud of the city moat.

Afterwards a wealthy man's daughter, Bhadradevi by name, showed great faith and self-sacrifice. This maiden having been accustomed to go out with her parents to hear the preaching of the doctrine from the time that she was ten years of age, took great delight in the three gems. She undertook the keeping of the three refuges⁸⁶ every day. It was in the time of her youth⁸⁷ that the king made them put away the Buddha statues. It happened one day that the maiden having gone down to bathe, came in contact with a Buddha statue. Lifting it up she found that it was a statue of the Buddha shining with gold. "Why have they thrown down these Buddha statues?" the maiden asked. Her old serving women then spoke up. "Indeed, lady,⁸⁸ the present king having followed the doctrines of the heretic teachers,⁸⁹ has given orders that these Buddha statues are to be cast out. And where people are found worshipping at the pagodas, the king has given orders that they be put to death." Thus spoke the serving women. The maiden having heard, thus spoke, "If it is so, then I yield my life to the three gems. I will suffer death," said the maiden. "Do you wash the statues and carry them up into the preaching hall,"⁹⁰ saying this, the maiden herself with her serving women washed all the statues and took them up into the preaching hall. The name of the place where the maiden came into touch with the Buddha statue having become corrupted, it is called to this day Tnāai Sapot Dā.⁹¹ The name of the place where she took up and washed the Buddha statues having become corrupted, Pān Krau it is called to this day. When the king heard that the maid had taken up the Buddha statues, he sent officers to call the maiden. The maiden gave to the officers a jewelled ring of great value, and bidding them wait for a little, hastened to wash all the Buddha statues that were there, and had them all taken up.

When they tarried long the king sent again other officers. On this occasion, the maiden was obliged to come up. They told the king that the maiden had come, and as soon as he heard, he said in his anger: "Let her be taken away to the elephants to be trodden to death." When he said this they brought the elephants. The maiden sent out her loving kindness to the king, and to the elephants, and to the mahouts. Then she kept repeating *Buddham saranam gacchami*, with all three refuges. The elephants did not dare to

⁸⁶ သရဏဝနိ "the three objects of faith, the Buddha, the doctrine, and the brotherhood.

⁸⁷ ခေဝ (P. vayo-am), a period of life. The three periods are *pathamavayo*, *majjhimavayo*, *paccimavayo*, youth, middle age, and old.

⁸⁸ မိ "mother," also used in addressing women.

⁸⁹ ဝိ (Skt. *tirthya*, P. *titthiyo*), "a sectarian, a heretic."

⁹⁰ ဇေယျ "a building for reading and meditation and for resting in."

⁹¹ In both cases there is just a slight difference between the name and the words describing the action said to be commemorated. One wonders whether the names did not give rise to the stories.

approach her, but kept up a trumpeting sound. The mahouts with their hooks could not stay them; they ran away. They brought up other elephants many times, but they did not dare to attack. That this was so the mahouts humbly informed the king, and when the king heard he said: "That being so cover her with straw and pile it up and set on fire," he said. The maiden sent out her loving kindness and repeated the three refuges. They did their best to light the fire, but it would not burn. That this was the case they again informed the king. "If that is so, let her be brought here," he said. When they had brought her to the king, he said, "Hai girl, your teachers are virtuously good you say, if you will only get the Buddha statues of your teachers to float away on the air and come back and let me see them take their position in the sky, then I will let your life go free. If your teachers' statues do not float on the air, I will have you cut into seven pieces." When the king had thus spoken the maiden was taken out to the edge of the moat. The maiden having taken up the Buddha statues from the moat, and having washed eight of them she set them up and making offerings to them, she made this vow: "O statues of the lord of merit, I believe the word of the Buddha; I yield my life to the three gems; I take up the statues of the Buddha. The Buddha is highly exalted; the doctrine is highly exalted; the brotherhood is highly exalted. If the Buddha, the doctrine, and the brotherhood are indeed highly exalted, let these eight Buddha statues float away on the air, and coming back let them take up a position in the sky opposite the king's audience hall." Thus prayed the maiden. At once the eight Buddha statues, floated up in the sky and went away. At that place in after times they erected a pagoda which is there until now. Kyāk Sīla Paw Tuin they called it. It stands on the east of the place of the Paloñ Jan monastery. After the eight Buddha statues had floated away, they came to a stand in the sky right opposite the king's audience hall. The maiden came back again and showed them to the king. When all the people saw them they were struck with wonder. Then the maiden said: "O great king, the Buddha who is my teacher having attained Parinirvana, it has only been the statues which are in his place that your Majesty has seen float in the air. The heretic teachers, your Majesty has said, are greatly good. Let those who are teachers float on the air that I may look on them." Thus spoke the maiden. Then the king spoke to the heretic teachers that they might float on the air. And the heretic teachers not being able to float on the air, the king had them driven away altogether. The eight Buddha statues floated away on the air to the edge of the forest on the western side. In the place where the Buddha statues floated away, in after days they built a pagoda enshrining relics of the Buddha, and it is called Kyāk Paw to this day. The place where the eight Buddha statues came down from the air is called Thān Kyāk Saw until this day. When the king had seen this wonder, he had the maiden ceremonially bathed and raised to the place of chief queen consort. She was named Queen Bhadrādevī, a name well known until now. All wise men, monks and brahmans have been obliged to praise the faithful maiden until this present time.

From that time on the king became again one who knew the benefits of the religion. Where the statues were broken and destroyed, he had them gathered together in Kyāk Klam Ban. The king having obtained a hair relic, enshrined it in that place, and together with the heap of statues had a pagoda built over it. They called it the Bwaw Rāt⁹² pagoda. Bwaw Rat becoming corrupted, they called it Kyak Klam Bwaw. Afterwards Kyāk Klam Bwaw having become corrupted, they call it Kyak Klam Ban until this day.

After this when King Tissarājā was no more, Hamsāvati the city of the Mons became a desolate wilderness; Hamsāvati became a Burmese province.⁹³ Afterwards the king of Pagan sent down a governor, Akhamaman by name, whom he ordered to re-establish Pegu. Akhamaman, having rebelled against the king of Pagan, made himself king once more⁹⁴ in Hamsāvati. When Akhamaman was no more, Lakkhayā again became king, and when Lakkhayā was no more, Tayaphyā became king in his place. These are the three generations of Burmese kings who again reigned in Hamsāvati.

At the time when Tayaphyā was king in Hamsāvati, there was a Mon king, King Warow⁹⁵ by name, who had become lord of a white elephant, and was king over in Martaban. At that time a fleet of war boats came down from Pagan and attacked Tayaphyā. Then Tayaphyā sent a letter over to King Warow, saying: "Lord of the white elephant, come over and help our armies." When King Warow heard the letter read, he himself with an army came over to the attack on the war boats, and the Burmese were dispersed and returned away up to Pagan. When the Burmese army had been dispersed, King Warow said he would go back home to Martaban. At that King Tayaphyā spoke thus: "O king, though you have come to the assistance of my army at this time, I have not had an opportunity of making you any present. How may we make you a suitable present? Let my lord remain with us for a little. I will arrange a golden vessel with golden flowers first." When he said this, King Warow, trusting him, stayed on. Just then his own army was scattered away seeking for food. He looked and saw that his forces were few and far apart, and that King Tayaphyā was arranging his army to come forth and surround (him), King Warow. King Warow seeing this, said: "I have done him a kindness, but instead of showing gratitude, he is coming out to surround me and accomplish my death. That yon king has broken his troth in such fashion the devas, ruling the earth, the woods, and the air are aware."⁹⁶ Saying this, he took a golden water vessel, and

⁹² Gem Heap.

⁹³ All the records which mention this lapse of Pegu from its regal splendour, agree in saying that it became a province of Burma, but there is never any hint of its having been despoiled by a Burmese army.

⁹⁴ Pegu again became a royal city.

⁹⁵ This is Wareru of Burmese history. Phayre makes him a Shan (Siamese), but according to Talaing records he was a Mon settled for a time in Sukhodaya, a former Siamese capital. Wareru is famous as the compiler of a Dhammathat or law book.

⁹⁶ Here again Phayre is at variance with the Mon writers. He makes Wareru the aggressor in the quarrel.

made a vow by pouring water in entreaty to the earth spirit.⁹⁷ Then he set his forces in array and mounting his elephant, urged it on to the attack. King Warow stabbed upwards with his spear, and striking King Tayaphyā pierced him through so that he fell down and died. King Warow thus gained possession of Hamsāvati. King Warow then returned to Martaban. From that time on Hamsāvati became a province of Martaban, and King Warow ruled in Martaban. There were eight generations of that line who were all of them lords of the white elephant.⁹⁸

Of the eight generations, his majesty Bañā U was at the end of the line. In the year 710 King Bañā U became king over in Martaban. Having reigned sixteen years, his majesty Bañā U came over and established Hamsāvati in the year 726. He reigned in Hamsāvati nineteen years. In the year 734 he was permitted to enlarge the pagoda of the Rangoon hair relics. Having raised it to a height of forty standard cubits, he was permitted to maintain it all his days. Having been king in Martaban sixteen years, and in Hamsāvati for nineteen years, which make thirty-five years that he had reigned, he reached the age of sixty. In the year 745 Bañā U reached impermanence.⁹⁹

The son of Bañā U, Siharājā by name, when at the age of sixteen years rebelled against his father. When his father was no more, he became king. This king because he had made friends with enemies, had gained a knowledge of the customs of war. This king as he went on his kingly duties in whatsoever way he turned there was no one who dared strive with him. Because he was great in war always, he had no opportunity to enshrine pagodas. He could only make offerings. This king was also called Rājādhīrat.¹⁰⁰ He did not attain to a great age. Becoming king in 745, he reigned thirty-eight years. Having reached the age of fifty-four years, he reached impermanence in 783.

When Siharājā Rājādhīrat was no more, his son Muggarājā who received the name Dhammarājā became king. This king caused much distress to the inhabitants of the country during his reign. Though the relics were there still he had no hand in enshrining them. He was twenty-nine years of age when he began to reign, and reigned for three years when his age was thirty-two. In the year 786 he died.

When Dhammarājā was no more, his younger brother, who also was a son of Siharājā, Bañā Rām Kuit they called him, reigned in Hamsāvati. He was great in stratagem, and gained advantage over his enemies by being

⁹⁷ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိ better perhaps ဝိသုဒ္ဓိ "the earth spirit who registers the vows of men." P. *sundarī*, "a beautiful woman." See an interesting discussion of this personage in Prof. Duroiselle's *Archaeological Report*, 1922 pp. 14-17.

⁹⁸ These eight kings of Martaban are never reckoned among the kings of Pegu except Bañā U from the time when he moved his capital to that city.

⁹⁹ A characteristic way of expressing the death of kings.

¹⁰⁰ This was one of the most famous kings of Pegu. His story both before his father's death and after it fills a large volume. The story of his wars with Burma is used as a school book by the Siamese.

well versed in the four means of success,¹⁰¹ namely, negotiation, buying off, attack, and sowing dissension. By means of these four upāyas he gained success over his enemies all the time. This king during his reign was great in his desire for works of merit. When his Majesty saw the pagoda of the eight hair relics, being desirous of increasing its size he thus considered: "The measurement of the base is too large."¹⁰² So with the architect his Majesty took cogitation. The hill itself was cut down, and the base having been built up in five stages, the pagoda was raised six standard cubits. The work was begun in the year 815, but there was not time to complete it then. Before he became king he was thirty years of age, and having reigned thirty-two years, he was sixty-two years of age. In the year 818 Bañā Rām Kuit passed away.

When Bañā Rām Kuit was no more, in the same year Bañā Barow a son of Bañā Thau became king. When this king began to reign he considered thus: "From the time that my grandfather, his Majesty Rājādhīrāt, was king, there has been nothing but strife between one kingdom¹⁰³ and another all the time. The inhabitants of the country with the monks and brahmans have had no peace of mind. Since my grandfather died my two uncles who have reigned, have done nothing but use force in the kingdom and stir up strife one with another, all the time. Monks, brahmans and the people of the country have had no peace of mind at all. Now that I am king I shall not desire the possessions of others. Since I do not desire the possessions of others, there will be none to desire my possessions. Having said that, I will comfort the hearts of the people during my reign, I will confirm the minds of monks, brahmans and the people of the kingdom." Having thus taken counsel with himself, he gave this order to the people: "Whosoever uses violence to anyone, or steals by forcibly taking from anyone, whether it be man or beast, with my own dagger I shall have him cut to death." Every day when he went out to give audience, he said this and flourished his dagger all the time.

Afterwards the trusted servant of a military officer stole a ring from a rich man. The rich man went up and informed his Majesty. The military officer sent up a present of five gold pieces¹⁰⁴ as compensation and to free his servant. His Majesty did not look at the gold, but ordering both the military officer and also the thief to be cut in two, had them guarded at the cross roads saying, "Let not the dogs and pigs eat them but let the people see them, that all may be frightened." So he had them guarded.

After that a hawker came selling glutinous rice, and a young man of the royal household, living at the side of the palace grounds bought some of the

¹⁰¹ According to Childers the four upāyas are, *bhedo*, *daṇḍo*, *sāmaṁ*, *dānaṁ*, sowing dissension, attack, negotiation, buying off.

¹⁰² There is a possible omission in the text here. The meaning apparently is that the ground space was not large enough for the design of the pagoda.

¹⁰³ ဂိၼ်ဇ္ဇာင် "white umbrella," a symbol of royalty, and here may be either "king" or "kingdom."

¹⁰⁴ ကာသာဝ် (Skt. *kārshāpaṇa*), a coin. The *pasā* of Schmidt's edition would make too large a sum.

hawker's glutinous rice. His money was little and he took up too much of the rice. The hawker called out, and his Majesty hearing, called them up and examined them. The amount of bronze was ten ticals, and the rice taken was nearly half a basket. "It is a deed of violence" he said, and he ordered the youth to be cut in two, and his body thrown out and guarded at the place where the other bodies were.

After that when he was holding an audience, in the midst of the ministers, a cat came chasing a mouse and catching the mouse, ate it. On that his Majesty said: "Did not I make a decree that if one did a deed of violence, whether it were man or beast, I should have him put to death? In the present case this creature has resisted my decree, has it not?" Saying this he had them cut the cat in two, and fixing it as they fix meat for roasting,¹⁰⁶ he had them guard it along with the four other carcasses. All four carcasses were guarded so that the people could view them.

Because the king had devised a fitting decree, there were few cases of the death penalty. People being very much frightened, all classes, the ruling class and the nobility,¹⁰⁶ the poor and the well-to-do,¹⁰⁷ where they had children, corrected their children, where they had grandchildren, corrected their grandchildren, where they had slaves, corrected their slaves, where they had pupils, corrected their pupils. From that time on there were no thieves and robbers at all. It was not necessary to stay out the stair,¹⁰⁸ to close the door, or to take in the selling wares. If a thing was forgotten in any place, no one dared pick it up. One could come back and get it where it was. Town and village was always upright and true.

Even the king himself disguised as a commoner went out riding, and being unable to rein in quickly enough, his horse collided with a hawker carrying pots on his head. The hawker stumbled and the pots fell and were broken. The hawker called out abusively: "You ride so often and yet you do not look out for people. You have broken my pots. Suppose I go and make my appeal to his Majesty Bañā Barow, do you think you will save your life?" Hearing what the hawker said, laughingly and without anger, he borrowed money from some one and paid the man the price of his pots. There was never any king among all the kings who reigned in Hāmsāvati that did such good deeds as this king did. He took great delight in the three

¹⁰⁶ အရှင်မထေ့ကျပ်ခင် This phrase is a recognised difficulty as the way of putting it varies in the different manuscripts. The reference is either to a way they have of stretching out fish, flesh, or fowl between two sticks for cooking over the coals, or to a way they had of crucifying.

¹⁰⁶ သို့အမတ်ဗဟုသုတဝတိ This would include the king's ministers, higher officials, and perhaps retired men of rank.

¹⁰⁷ လေ့ဟိသဗ္ဗဟိသတိ The first is from the Pali *vesso*, a vaisya; the second word describes the well-to-do; whilst the third is the Pali *setthi*, a wealthy merchant, now applied to any one who has acquired wealth.

¹⁰⁸ ကျိန် The moveable ladder or steps of an ordinary house is sometimes pulled back at the top and held out by a cord to prevent dogs climbing up during the absence of the residents. This is expressed by ထိုင်ကျိန် "to set the stairs upright."

gems. He did much in keeping up and preserving the pagoda relic chambers. As to the Rangoon hair relic pagoda, from the five terraces of the base which had not been completed, he built up again until the bell was finished. This king because, he greatly desired the good of the people for many a day, managed only to repair the Rangoon pagoda as far as the bell. He was twenty-two years of age before he became king, and having reigned four years, he was twenty-six years of age. In the year 821 King Bañā Barow passed away and returned to the devalokas.

When Bañā Barow was no more, Dāsarājā who also was a nephew of Yakkharājā, (he bore the name of Bañā Kendau, but because his slaves took the kingdom, he was called Dāsarājā), became king and reigned in Harisāvati. This king greatly delighted in works of merit.¹⁰⁹ As to the Rangoon pagoda which was not yet finished, from the bell he built it up to a finish at the umbrella, and put on its crown. This king began to reign when he was twenty-five years of age, and reigned three years until he was twenty-eight. In the year 825 Bañā Kendau passed away and returned to the devalokas.

When Bañā Kendau was no more, Yuttarājā who also was a nephew of Yakkharājā, became king. His name was Mamohtau, but because he was separated from his mother's bosom, he was called the orphan king. This king during his reign showed a very cruel disposition. He was an adulterer. He reigned for seven months only. He had no opportunity of enshrining the relic chambers of the pagodas. Mamohtau passed away.

In the same year 825, the daughter of king Rājādhīrat, Takhañ Cau Phio',¹¹⁰ who took the name Visuddharājā (she was afterwards called Bañā Thau), became queen. She was held in much honour. She was great in faith and self-sacrifice. Kings of the eight directions sent messengers with presents without intermission. She accomplished a great many meritorious works, first in regard to pagodas great and small, and also in respect to monks who have undertaken the burden of study¹¹¹ and the burden of contemplation. She built many monasteries and made them over to the monks. She made offerings without number all the time. When her Majesty Bañā Thau had reigned in Harisāvati seven years, she handed over the government to the monk, Dhammaceti, who was viceroy. Then her Majesty Bañā Thau went away down to Rangoon. She had them build and enlarge the Rangoon pagoda platform. Her majesty also put on a crown. Her Majesty went on the scales and made them take her own weight in gold, twenty-five viss, and beating it out into leaf, cover the pagoda from the dome to the umbrella and down to the bottom. For the city of Rangoon they made up five thousand viss of pure bronze, and offered it to the pagoda. Four chiefs of pagoda slaves, four soldiers, and five hundred people were placed, and they all gave service to the Rangoon pagoda. She had them cast a bronze bell of one

¹⁰⁹ ကာကုသို (P. kusalakammañ), "good actions, meritorious karma."

¹¹⁰ တခင်စေတီ presumably represents a Burmese form တခင်စောဝူ though the common Burmese form of the name is ရှင်စောဝူ Shin Sawbu.

¹¹¹ ဂန္ဓာမိဇ္ဈ a mistake for ဂန္ဓာဇာ (P. ganthadhurañ), but the manuscripts all have it so.

thousand seven hundred viss weight. She had them pave the Rangoon pagoda platform with paving stones. Stone posts were put all round the pagoda, and stone lamps were put all round. There were four white umbrellas, four golden alms bowls, eight golden curry dishes, four golden spoons, four earthenware vessels, and four offerings were made each day. There were twenty-seven men who prepared the lamps¹¹² each day. There were twenty men as guardians of the pagoda treasury. There were four goldsmiths' shops, four orchestras, four drums, four sheds, eight doorkeepers, four sweepers, and twenty lamp lighters. She built round and strengthened the sevenfold wall. Between the walls her Majesty Bañā Thau had them plant palmyra palms and coconut trees. So she adorned the place. In this fashion she arranged for the upkeep of the Rangoon hair relics. Her Majesty observed the precepts all the time. There came a day when her Majesty Bañā Thau grew sick, and wishing to contemplate the Rangoon hair relics which glowed and glistened, she opened her eyes and having attained tranquility, she passed away and returned to the devalokas. She was fifty-eight years of age before she became queen, and having reigned seven years, she was sixty-five. In the year 832 she passed away and returned to the devalokas.

The viceroy, because he was well acquainted with the Tripitaka, was called Dhammaceti.¹¹³ He reigned very justly. This king was replete with wisdom. He was well acquainted with the Tripitaka. He was well versed in expository works and in works on medicine and astrology and had the four means of success against an enemy. Though he was king he did not live in the place of the many¹¹⁴ kings of former days. Going outside the town to the west of the Mohtau¹¹⁵ pagoda, he set up a stockade and erected palace buildings with elephant sheds and stables, and there he carried out his kingly duties. This king built a large monastery, the monastery Bhā Twī Klam, (another) large monastery, Bhā Twī Bā Klam, also many little pagodas, temples, preaching halls, and Buddha statues without number. Then his Majesty went down to Rangoon to perform meritorious works. He had the heir-apparent and the queen go on the scales, and gave their weight in gold to be beaten out into gold leaf the size of a wall, and had the Rangoon pagoda covered over. His Majesty had them design and cast a great bell¹¹⁶ of one hundred and eighty thousand viss weight of bronze. The mouth of the bell was eight cubits, and its height twelve cubits. He cast also a small bell of five hundred viss weight to strike in offering to the Buddha, on the upper platform of the pagoda. They paid up in Rangoon as the contribution of the Rangoon people five viss of gold and five thousand viss of bronze. Because it was the city of the Buddha they

¹¹² These lamps were little vessels to contain oil with a wick floating on top.

¹¹³ He is sometimes called Pitakadhara, meaning versed in the Tripitaka, and this would seem to fit better the explanation here given. In the Kalyāni inscriptions he is styled Rāmādhīpati.

¹¹⁴ ဝါးပင် "white umbrella" is simply a designatory particle here.

¹¹⁵ This apparently means he removed his palace from the place of his predecessors.

¹¹⁶ Mr. Blagden says, "Perhaps this is the great bell mentioned in the Kalyāni inscription."

were obliged to eat fruits and vegetables. His Majesty gave this standing order to the governor of Rangoon: "When it comes to the end of Lent, let twenty-five trees of *kalpavṛkṣa*¹¹⁷ flowers be brought to the pagoda every year." His Majesty Dhammaceti having been a monk until he was fifty-one years of age abandoned the monastic life and became viceroy for seven years. He was king for fourteen years until he was seventy-two. In the year 853 he passed away.

When Dhammaceti was no more, his son called Hatthirājā, his Majesty Bañā Rām became king. He at once had all the royal offspring put to death. A great pestilence arose amongst the people. At that time afterwards again he had regard to the ten objects,¹¹⁸ and had real joy in almsgiving. His heart also was given over to liberality to slaves, followers, companions, ministers, military officers, and nobility. He also humbled himself before the three gems and did them great service. In the year 854, on the thirteenth of the light half of the month Pausa, he built a palace. A great storm arose, and the umbrella of the Rangoon pagoda floated away on the air and fell down as far away as Syriam. His Majesty Bañā Rām lifted and brought up the umbrella and the crown, and having set them round with many precious stones, put them upon the dome of the Rangoon pagoda. When his Majesty reached the age of forty-eight, he built forty-eight little pagodas¹¹⁹ on the base. He again enlarged the great base, and made offerings in golden almsbowls with golden litters every day. He had eight men hang a golden bell as an offering. At the age of forty-six he assumed the government, and reigned thirty-five years till he was eighty-one years of age. In the year 888, his Majesty Bañā Rām passed away and returned to the deva-lokas.

His son Badhiroṛājā by name, called Dakā Rat Pi, became king at the age of sixteen, and was a ruler of much faith and self-sacrifice. He was sensible of the benefits of the three gems, and did many meritorious works in pagodas, temples, and preaching halls. For the Rangoon hair relic pagoda he made a consecrated chain of gold adorned with sapphires and many different kinds of precious stones, and put it on the dome of the pagoda. His Majesty gave as an offering to the pagoda a royal tusker elephant, with two young ones, a silver almsbowl, and eight men. If this king had had Sammāpayoga, he might have lived to the age of 85 years, and might have ruled the realm. Thus have the wise men spoken. Because he had not Sammāpayoga he reached only the age of twenty-eight and had to give up his life in a jungle place. He was sixteen years of age when he began to reign,

¹¹⁷ ကလပဗုဒ္ဓိ (Skt. *kalpavṛkṣa*), "a celestial tree yielding all wishes, it grows in Indra's heaven."—(Childers). The reference here is to an artificially constructed tree bearing gifts for the monks. It is sometimes called ပိဋကူ (P. *paṇṣakūlaṃ*), which has reference to a custom of putting out presents for the monks to pick up, in allusion to the original practice of gathering rags from the dust heap to make their robes.

¹¹⁸ These are, according to Hardy as quoted by Childers, the four Maggas, the four Phalas, Nirvana, and the Scriptures. It is just possible, however, that the ten kingly duties, the first of which is *danam*, giving, are here meant.

¹¹⁹ တေခြာတ်ဗေဓ် a little pagoda on the base of a larger one.

and was king for twelve years until he reached the age of twenty-eight. In the year 900, he passed away, and returned to the devalokas.

As to this Sammāpayoga we speak of, it is very fruitful in results. It comes to us in many a Sutta that it gains for one the understanding of Indra with which to oppose pride. Therefore people who have acquired wealth and glory, gain but the meritorious standing of former days, but when one has Sammāpayoga one undertakes the precepts, keeps the precepts, takes refuge in the three gems, propitiates the planets, and guards himself fittingly. If one can furnish himself in these two Sammāpayogas long life and enduring riches will come to him. Dakā Rat Pi never looked at a book, took no heed of good practice, but only sported with elephants and horses in jungle bush, and searched for shellfish and crabs. He was like a deaf and dumb person, never looking at a book, and Badhirorājā¹²⁰ he was called.

When Dakā Rat Pi was no more, Parañ Mañ Soaithī,¹²¹ his Burmese Majesty became king of Hamsāvati. This king had them put a crown adorned with many gems on the umbrella of the Rangoon hair relic pagoda. The king gave the queen herself as an offering, and redeemed her with ten viss of gold. In the year 912, on Wednesday the first of the dark half of the month Vaisākha, his Majesty Parañ Mañ Soaithī returned to the devolakas.

When Parañ Mañ Soaithī was no more, Smin Dhaw Juk Lalī became king and ruled Hamsāvati. This king put an umbrella on the Rangoon pagoda, adorning it with various gems. In the year 913, on the third of the dark half of the month Caitra, Smin Dhaw fled and abandoned the city. It was at the New Year that Smin Dhaw fled, and in the year 914, in the month Āshādha, his Majesty Parañ Mañ Grī, his Majesty of the ten directions,¹²² the Burmese king, ruled in Hamsāvati. In the year 919, in the month Mārgasirsha they found Smin Dhaw Juk Lalī in the forest Patai Brau, and there he died. His Majesty Jamnaḥ Duih Cah became lord of a white elephant, gained a jewelled umbrella, and conquered many kingdoms. They were impelled to bring and present to him a royal consort from Ceylon. He acquired the name Jamnaḥ Duih Cah.¹²³

In the year 930, in the month Jyeshtha, the Sun was in eclipse, and day was like night. On Tuesday the ninth of the light half, there was an earthquake and the Rangoon hair relics crumbled down. They had to pull down the pagoda to the middle stage, and build it up again. His Majesty had the privilege of raising the crown, and of putting an umbrella over the dome, of over-laying it with gold, and thus enshrining the pagoda. Having reigned twenty-nine years, on Thursday, the fourth of the light half of the month Āshādha, in the year 943, his Majesty Jamnaḥ Duih Cah passed away.

The son of his Majesty Jamnaḥ Duih Cah having become king in Hamsāvati, sent his general Bañā Dala to put on gold leaf five viss in weight,

¹²⁰ P. *badhiro*, "deaf."

¹²¹ Bur. ဘုရင်မင်းတုထီး Tabin Shwethī, the first of the Burmese kings of Pegu.

¹²² Bur. ဘုရင်မင်းကြီး "the king." တလညးမိုတ်၌ also ခမ္မးမိုတ်၌ "The conqueror of the ten directions," Bureng Naung, known to the Burmese as Anoratha.

¹²³ "Conqueror of the ten directions." His campaigns, chiefly in Siam, occupy a great part of the Volume Dammaceti, Paklat, 1912.

and overlay from the spire down to the bulging part of the plantain bud,¹²⁴ to the silver stays with five viss of gold leaf. On Sunday the fourth of the light half of the month Phālguna, in the year 951, he was permitted to put on an umbrella with a crown. He cast a bronze bell of forty viss weight, and offered it to the Rangoon hair relics.

In the year 950, on Sunday the eleventh of the light half of the month Mārgasīrsha, he took over the government of Taungū. In the month Māgha the city of Harisāvatī was destroyed and became desolate.

His Majesty Nangya reigned twenty years. In the year 963 his Majesty Nangya passed away in Taungū.

The ship commander, the foreigner, Kappitan Jerā¹²⁵ was king again in Syriam. Because he was of Devadatta's company, a heretic,¹²⁶ he had no opportunity of enshrining at the relic chamber of the pagoda. The superior¹²⁷ of Angebut, the superior of the hill Lacew, these two with the people of the city erected an umbrella. The superior of the hill monastery gave the time. The combined number of precious stones was three hundred and fifty.

In the year 972, on Friday the eleventh of the light half of the month Srāvaṇa the citizens made merit in putting a crown on the Rangoon pagoda. The foreigner Kappitan Jerā was king in Syriam twelve years. His Majesty Nan Thaw of Ava was lord of the jewelled umbrella. In the year 974, on Wednesday the eighth of the light half of the month Caitra, his Majesty Nan Thaw of Ava marching down with an army, besieged Syriam, and having overcome the foreigner, took the city. The king gave four hundred and twenty-eight men to keep the hair relics. He had them cast a bronze bell and offer it to the Buddha's relics. In the year 975 his Majesty acquired the government of Harisāvatī.

In the year 980, on Thursday the first of the dark half of the month Phālguna, he put up an umbrella and put a crown on the Rangoon pagoda. The height and the circumstance of the crown were four cubits and two hands equally. The weight of the gold was two viss fifty-five ticals.¹²⁸ There were two thousand rubies, and the weight of the diamonds in the crown was two viss. Punakamā put down twelve silver bells five viss and five and a half ticals weight. Bañā Juk Lali gave silver bells and banyan leaves of two ticals gold. The weight of the two bells was ten viss and seventy-five ticals.

In the year 982, on Wednesday the 11th of the light half of the month Kārttika, the big wall on the north-west side of the Rangoon pagoda broke down, of the lower stage four standard cubits, and of the upper stage five standard cubits, making nine standard cubits. The big wall on the south-east broke down to thirty-five standard cubits. Adding on the rain shelter there

¹²⁴ ခွံမြတ် the part of a pagoda just under the umbrella.

¹²⁵ Captain General.

¹²⁶ ဝိဇ္ဇာ (P.), "doctrine, opinion."

¹²⁷ ခံရိန် "having possession," or "he who has merit."

¹²⁸ Lit. two and a half viss and five ticals.

was a length of 256 fathoms in all. His Majesty was able to finish the work on the inside wall.

In the year 983, on Wednesday the full of Phālguna, in the year 986, also on Wednesday the full of Phālguna, in the year 987, also on Wednesday the full of Phālguna, each year at the full moon of Āsvina as well as at the full moon of Phālguna, four lamp towers at the four sides, with golden flowers, golden parched grain, golden candles, and silver candles were offered to the Rangoon relic pagoda. Two white umbrellas twice in each year were presented to the Rangoon pagoda. Every year gold leaf was laid on the pagoda.

When this king reigned in Hamsāvati he lived in Kla' Sakuip to the west of the city. Because he did not go into the city they called him his Majesty of Kla' Sakuip. Having reigned fifteen years, in the year 990, on Thursday the 4th of the light half of the month Āshādha, his Majesty Kla' Sakuip passed away in Kla' Sakuip.

The son of his Majesty Kla' Sakuip, Mañraidippa by name became king. On Friday the 4th of the dark half of the month Srāvana, Mañraidippa entered Hamsāvati again. His Majesty gave an offering of lamp towers for the four sides. At the end of Lent and again at the full of Phālguna he had them lighted in honour of the Rangoon hair relics. He paid his respects to the Rangoon hair relics with golden candles, silver candles, and white umbrellas. He made plaster of lime and glue,¹²⁹ and with black wood oil offered it to the Rangoon hair relics. This king reigned one year only.

In the year 991, his Majesty Mañraidippa passed away, and his Majesty Thado Dhammarājā became king in Hamsāvati. In the year 991 on Saturday the 6th of the dark half of the month Māgha, one nādi and 66 caḍons before the time of sunset, there was an earthquake and the crown of the Rangoon pagoda fell down to the south-east.

In the year 991, in the month Vaisākha, his Majesty presented forty candidates for the upasampadā ordination. On Wednesday the 11th of the light half of Āsvina, an hour after midnight, Aries being lagna, he put the crown on the Rangoon hair relic pagoda. The weight of the gold was three viss and five and a half ticals, and the number of gems was 658. His Majesty Thado Dhammarājā enshrined them.

In the year 996, in the month Jyeshtha, his Majesty marched from Pegu. In the year 996, on Tuesday in the month Mārgasīrsha his Majesty Thado Dhammarājā went up to Ava. Four years after he reached Ava, in the year 1000, on Sunday the 8th of the light half of the month Caitra, the crown of the Rangoon pagoda fell out of place. On the 4th of the light half of the month Vaisākha, his Majesty furnished one thousand candidates for the upasampada ordination.

In the year 1002, on Sunday the 14th of the light half of the month Phālguna, when Taurus was lagna, they again put on the crown of the Rangoon pagoda. His Majesty Thado Dhammarājā enshrined it. He made

¹²⁹ Both glue and jaggery were used with lime in making plaster, and the same word stands for both.

offering to the Rangoon hair relics every year with lime, glue, and black wood oil. He offered twice a year golden flowers, silver flowers, and two white umbrellas. He became king in Pegu in the year 991; in the year 996, he went up to Ava; and in the year 1011 his Majesty Thado Dhammarājā passed away.

When his Majesty Thado Dhammarājā was no more, his son Nangya by name became king. In the year 1011, in the month Vaisākha, the crown fell away from straight. On Sunday the 1st of the dark half of the month of Āṣvina, an order came down to lift out the crown of the Rangoon pagoda and take it up to Pegu. They were ordered to straighten it out, and adorn it with gems anew. He offered to the hair relics every year golden candles, silver candles, golden parched rice, silver parched rice, and white umbrellas. He made offerings of lime, buffalo skin glue, and Bengal quince fruit to the Rangoon hair relics every year. In the year 1023, on Wednesday the 7th of the dark half of the month Caitra, a great storm arose and the crown of the Rangoon pagoda again fell away from straight. A great many trees fell down and were broken to pieces. In the year 1023 also, on Sunday the 7th of the dark half of the month Jyeshtha, his Majesty Nangya passed away and returned to the devalokas.

Another son of his Majesty Thado Dhammarājā, Mañraikyawghong by name, again became king in Ava. In the year 1023, on Monday the 10th of the light half of the month Māgha, at the time of striking four in the evening, there was an earthquake and three stages of the crown of the Rangoon hair relics together with the dome fell down to the south-west in the pagoda grounds. What remained of the crown was thrown down and carried over to the hill Wan at Syriam.

In the year 1023, on Sunday the 3rd of the light half of the month Māgha, the crown of the Rangoon pagoda on the hill Wan was taken away up to Ava. In the year 1025, on Tuesday the 3rd of the light half of the month Bhādrapada, at the time of striking three after midnight, 16 nādis, 2 pats, and 4 bijanas, the crown of the Rangoon relic pagoda was put in place. Mañraicesu, Dakkhyuiw, and Saralā, three of them, offered to the Rangoon relic pagoda a hundred golden flowers, a hundred silver flowers, eight white umbrellas, four large golden candles, ten small ones, four large silver candles and ten small ones, eight diamond streamers, and eight diamond flowers. They gave food to eighty monks, including monks from Syriam, Pegu, and Rangoon, on the pagoda platform. His Majesty gave gifts of lime, glue, and black wood oil without intermission. He paid his respects to the pagoda with golden flowers, silver flowers, golden parched grain, silver parched grain, golden candles, silver candles, and white umbrellas twice each year. In this manner his Majesty enshrined the Rangoon hair relics.

In the year 1026, on Monday the 14th of the light half of the month Mārgasīrsha, at two cadons there was an earthquake. The crown of the Rangoon pagoda fell away to the south-east on the pagoda platform. Five standard cubits and two hands of the central support¹³⁰ broke off and fell

¹³⁰ ဣဒ္ဓဝါ "an iron rod supporting the tapering part of the structure."

down on the western side on the bell mouth.¹³¹ The umbrella slanted away to the north-west, and the diamond bulb¹³² with the wire stays lay on top of the umbrella to the south-east. The plaster of the plantain bud¹³³ burst out and fell away. The lotus bud burst up in three petals and was carried away to the south-east. What remained of the bricks of the six petals on the north broke away also. The python's coil,¹³⁴ and the bell down to the main base burst out and broke down to a great extent.

In the year 1027, on Monday the 9th of the light half of the month Pausha, the people put in a central support, straightened the umbrella, and renewed the iron stays. Kok Macet, Den Hmu, and Amlok Bhū were the overseers. In Phālguna the full moon was on Wednesday.

In the year 1028, on Friday the 12th of the light half of the month Māgha, at three nādīs and one pat in the afternoon, they put a crown on the Rangoon pagoda. The weight of the crown was twelve viss of gold. There were 1800 gems set round the crown. They gave food to two hundred and forty monks. The offerings which were offered were very many. There were two orchestras, ten dancers, and the crown festival lasted three days. With eight white umbrellas, four bouquets of golden flowers of a hundred blooms, four bouquets of silver flowers of a hundred blooms, and many gold and silver candles, his Majesty paid his respects to the Rangoon hair relics every year. Twice a year he paid his respects to the Rangoon hair relics.

In the year 1030, the full moon of Phālguna fell on a Wednesday. Every year when it fell on Wednesday, all the Shans, the Mons, and the Burmese, monks and people, came to worship and make offerings in great crowds.

In the year 1023, in the month Jyeshtha, he became king in Ava. In the year 1034, on Wednesday the first of the dark half of the month Caitra, his Majesty passed away. Before he became king he was thirty-nine years of age. He reigned eleven years, reaching the age of fifty. Four days after the New Year festival,¹³⁵ on Wednesday the 1st of the dark half of the month Caitra, Mañraikhyawghoñ returned to the devalokas away in Ava.

On Thursday the 2nd of the dark half, the heir apparent,¹³⁶ the son of Mañraikhyawghoñ, again became king. Having been king 26 years, in the year 1060, on Monday the 11th of the dark half of the month Vaisākha, his Majesty, the son of Mañraikhyawghoñ returned to the devalokas. His son then became king. On Thursday the 4th of the dark half of intercalated Āshādha, when it struck one in the morning, the heir-apparent ascended the

¹³¹ ကိုင်း "bell." This is the bell shaped dome like part of the pagoda.

¹³² နှိုင်းစိန် "the spherical ornament surmounting the vane."

¹³³ ဂဓေဝံမြတ် "the calf of the leg; the bud of the plantain from which the fruit is developed; the bulging and tapering part of a pagoda just under the umbrella."

¹³⁴ ဘုံမရေတ် also called ပုဂ္ဂိုလ် the part just above the bell.

¹³⁵ အတားတိုက် "the third day of the New Year festival."

¹³⁶ အိန်သေမင်း (Bur. အိမ်ရှေ့မင်း), "an heir apparent associated in the sovereignty."

throne in Ava. On Tuesday the 6th of the light half of the month Bhādrapada, the heir-apparent was consecrated king. The heir-apparent reigned thirty-four years. In the year 1095, the heir apparent returned to the deva-lokas. In the same year his Majesty's son ascended the throne in Ava.

In the year 1101, on Thursday the 4th of the light half of the month Caitra, when the day had fully dawned there was an earthquake making a great noise. The crown of the Muhtau pagoda with the stays was broken and dashing down on the umbrella, the umbrella was dented. The son of the king of Ava having reigned in Ava seven years, in the year 1102, on Thursday the full moon Jyeshtha, the Burmese myowun who was governor of Pegu, Nai Tha Aung by name, having raised a dispute, put to death the state secretary,¹³⁷ the two lieutenant generals,¹³⁸ and the governor of the prison,¹³⁹ and made himself king in Pegu. This ruler was very harsh and cruel and reigned only a month and a half. On Sunday the 1st of the light half of the month Srāvaṇa, the Mons put Nai Tha Aung to death.

After that his Majesty of Ava appointed a Burmese officer, Mañrai Aung Naing by name, to be governor in Pegu. Mañrai Aung Naing was very avaricious. He took bribes in gold and silver and in coin, and made great distress for the people. He ruled but four months and twenty days. On Tuesday the 11th of the light half of the month Mārgasīrsha, the Gwe Shans living in Sarak-up Sarak-gabañ entered and put Mañrai Aung Naing to death. On Thursday the 5th of the dark half of the month Mārgasīrsha, one of the Gwe Shans became king. The righteous king Buddha Kesī he was called. He made a stockade and formed a city in the place Bau Nat Gi.¹⁴⁰ and lived there a while. Afterwards the righteous king Buddha Kesī entered and lived in Pegu.

In the year 1106, on Sunday the full moon Phālguna, at the time one struck in the morning, the righteous king Buddha Kesī put an umbrella on the Muhtau relic pagoda. In the year 1108, on Friday the 3rd of the light half of the month Magha, the king went over to live in Sittang. On Sunday the 12th of the light half of the month Māgha, the Mons entered Pegu. On Sunday the 12th of the light half also, just after dark, the good king Buddha Kesī left Sittang and went away to Chieng Mai. The good Gwe Shan king reigned only six years and six months in Pegu. On Wednesday the full moon Māgha, a registrar Khuin by name entered and became ruler in Pegu. Nai Carañ Khuin was very shiftless and shallow in his devices and ruled only eighteen days.

¹³⁷ စာရေးဂီ Bur. စာရေးကြီး "secretary."

¹³⁸ စက္ကပ် Bur. စက်ဝဲ This word now denotes a subordinate officer, but in the time of the Burmese kings, it denoted a rank next to a Wun. There were two of them at a Wun's headquarters.

¹³⁹ နှဲထိုင် Bur. ထောင်မှူး "a governor of a prison."

¹⁴⁰ A place name evidently. ဓံ is a Mon word meaning 'spirit' or 'demon,' and နာတ်ဂီ is the Burmese နတ်ကြီး with similar meaning.

On Wednesday the 4th of the light half of the month Phālguna, the commander-in-chief, Bañā Dala, having attacked and driven out Nai Carañ Khuin, himself became king in Pegu, and took the name of Bramuiñdhirājā Nadhippati. The commander-in-chief having become king performed very many deeds of merit.

In the year 1109, on Saturday the ninth of the light half of intercalated Āshādhā, his Majesty had them erect five more halls for the reading of the law. Formerly there were six preaching halls, but afterwards four of them having been broken down, there remained only the preaching hall at the foot of the Muhtau pagoda and the Añ Wan preaching hall. There were only these two halls where the truth could be preached every day without intermission. His Majesty having had them erect five more preaching halls, there were seven halls where the monks could preach the doctrine every day without intermission.

Which are the seven preaching halls? The preaching hall at the foot of Muhtau pagoda is one. The Añ Wan preaching hall is one. The Kyaik Tale' preaching hall is one. The Mhā Suin preaching hall is one. Inside the city there are these four halls. Outside the city the Kwit hall is one. The golden hall at the bathing place is one. The hall at the pillar gate is one. Outside the city are these three. These are the seven preaching halls.

His Majesty was permitted to arrange meritorious deeds in erecting the preaching halls. The good Gwe Shan king had put a one stage umbrella on the Muhtau pagoda, and his Majesty was permitted to make and put over it six stages adorned with many gems, together with a golden crown set with gems. His Majesty the commander-in-chief did a great many works of merit, in monasteries, preaching halls, pagodas without number.

It was after this that Aungzeya¹⁴¹ marching down from Muktsobo and Ava, arrived at Pham village. Because the rulers in Pegu were not in agreement among themselves, Aungzeya had the opportunity to take the city of Pegu. At that time all the monks of the country who lived outside the city were gathered together in Pegu. There were over three thousand of them. The Burmese king having taken Pegu, put all the monks to death. Only the monks who lived right out east of Sittang took flight across to Martaban, and went away on to the Siamese cities of Lampun and Chiangmai, to escape from death. The Burmese king took away his Majesty himself and the uparājā to Muktsobo.

In the year 1119, on Friday the 5th of the dark half of the month Vaisākha, at the time when old people sleep,¹⁴² the Burmese king Aungzeya took Pegu. On Friday the 6th of the dark half of the month Srāvana, an earthquake took place. The Muhtau pagoda fell down as far as the plantain bud and the umbrella and crown fell also.

¹⁴¹ ဖိင်ဇယော Bur. အောင်စရာ "victory" or "the victorious." A Burmese name for Alaungphra.

¹⁴² ပထဝီစုမ္မာသိင်္ဂ "when the elders sleep," say about nine in the evening. ပထဝီသမုတိသိင်္ဂ "when the children sleep," say seven-or between seven and eight. ၂၁၉ "just dark" used earlier in this work indicates the time before the children sleep.

In the year 1121 his Majesty Aungzeya marched an army into Siam. On his march having taken Tavoy, Tenasserim, Tanau,¹⁴³ Petchaburi, Ratburi, he at length reached the neighbourhood of Ayuthia, but on the west bank of the river. There his Majesty contracted a swelling in the hidden parts, and remaining only six days, he struck camp, and marching on the return journey reached Raheng. Going forth from Raheng by way of the frontier he reached Myawadi and there he died.

In the year 1121, his Majesty Aungzeya marched on Ayuthia. In the year 1122, on Friday the 5th of the light half of the month Vaisākha, his Majesty Aungzeya struck camp and marched his army from Ayuthia on the return journey. On Sunday the 13th of the dark half of Vaisākha, he reached Raheng. On Friday the 13th of the light half of Jyeshtha he reached Myawadi. His Majesty Aungzeya passed away in that place. His Majesty Aungzeya was of a very fierce and cruel disposition, and made no account at all of life. He put to death many monks, and their iron almsbowls and silk robes were taken away, and the homespun robes were made into foot mats. Of some they made pillows, of some they made belts, and of some they made sails. The monks' robes were scattered all over land and water.

In the year 1113, his Majesty Aungzeya became king in Muktsobo, and having reigned nine years, in the year 1122 he passed away in the forest of Myawadi. His Majesty's son, Takheñ Lok by name, became king in Muktsobo. Having reigned three years his Majesty Takheñ Lok passed away in the year 1125, on Sunday the 11th of the light half of Kārttika. The younger brother of Takheñ Lok, Myedu by name, became king in Muktsobo.

CONCLUSION.

In relating so much of the succession of kings what benefit do we seek to confer on persons of penetration?

All the kings who have come down in succession from Mahāsamatto to Samala and Wimala and their successors who have been kings until now, are thousands and tens of thousands of generations. All these kings have sought to escape the dominion of Death. Thus have they done: having become kings, they have planted defences, they have dug moats, they have raised walls and made firm their battlements. Having formed their battlements, they have furnished swords and spears, bows and arrows, muskets, artillery¹⁴⁴ and engines of war.¹⁴⁵ They have gathered in provisions and mustered

¹⁴³ This according to Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* p. 12 is the Siamese name for Tenasserim. In that case တူင်ပြီ the usual name for Tenasserim must stand for Mergui.

¹⁴⁴ The words လောဟကုဏ္ဍိ always occur together though sometimes in the reverse order.

¹⁴⁵ ကပလောကဂူ in their form suggest rollers and harrows but what kind of engines they were is not clear.

armies. They have beaten out weapons, and that they might get the mastery over Death, they have put forth every effort and used every art. All kings have done this have they not? Although these kings have arranged and planned for their own defence, not one has been able to gain the mastery over Death. Not one has managed to free himself from the power of Death. All rulers have had to submit to the power of Death, all of them. Is it not so?

Although kings have had many possessions, many slaves and followers, and very great armies, they have all had to enter into the power of Death. All of us here and now, whether religious or lay person, whether male or female, what have we with which to free ourselves from the power of Death?

Therefore wise men and good people, male and female, who know all this, do not grow a spirit of covetousness; do not increase the spirit of anger; do not enlarge ignorance. Reprove your own heart, subject it, keep it in check, and strengthen it. Restrain the spirit of covetousness. Do not take by force that which is not given from the heart and by word of mouth. Do not take by trickery. Do not take by force the possessions of the poor or of those in the guise¹⁴⁶ of ruder peoples.¹⁴⁷ Remembering that worldly goods are not continuously with anyone, instruct your heart firmly. Do not increase sinful acts. Do not indulge in haughty pride. Do not develop an angry disposition. Put down the spirit of pride, and humble yourself. Do not raise your voice unduly, nor speak words that will make the ears of others to tingle. Do not use abusive language to others. Do not persecute others, nor bind and beat them. Do not stir up strife between people. Having dissolved the darkness of ignorance, establish yourself in knowledge. Let there be a spirit of loving kindness one with another. If loving kindness were shed abroad in the hearts of people, the eleven conditions of loving kindness preached by the exalted Buddha would always find fulfilment.

What are the eleven¹⁴⁸ conditions of loving kindness preached by the exalted Buddha? To go to sleep happy, to waken happy, to be loved by men, to be loved by the devas, to be free from the distress of being shot at by the weapons of war,¹⁴⁹ to be immune from poison, to be fixed in resolve, to be guarded by the devas, to have a clear face, to have no anxiety when death comes, though one has not gained jhāna, to reach the brahmalokas when the change comes, by virtue of the spirit of loving kindness of one's spiritual preceptor. Thus has the exalted Buddha lord of the three worlds preached.

It is as in the case of the maiden Bhadrādevi already mentioned.¹⁵⁰ By virtue of the spirit of loving kindness in the maiden when King Tissarājā

¹⁴⁶ လွယ် (P. *veso*), disguise, impersonation. The same form stands for P *vesso*, a vaisya, but that does not seem to fit.

¹⁴⁷ ချွေကရင်ဝ Chins, Karens and Was, meaning people of a lower culture.

¹⁴⁸ Copyists seem to have been in doubt here, but it seems to me that Schmidt's is the true reading. The clauses beginning with "to" in my translation number eleven.

¹⁴⁹ လွယ်ပျံ့လက်ကွသောနတ်အဖွဲ့ကိ weapons—spears, missiles, bows, guns, cannon.

¹⁵⁰ See p. 30 ff.

made the elephants trample, they dared not trample; when they made the fire it would not burn; killing her she did not die; destroying her she was not destroyed; the king had to throw down his pride, humble his heart, and follow the leading of the maiden. He had to turn again to a sense of the benefits of the religion, had he not?

Therefore let the men of knowledge and good people, if they would love and take delight in themselves, put aside the hard and cruel heart and enlarge the spirit of loving kindness in themselves always. If you establish yourselves in right conduct, you will attain the merits of the devalokas and the world of men, of the world of men and of the devalokas, and enjoy them through many existences. In the end men of knowledge and good people will gain without fail a sure place in the sacred abode of Nirvana, which is the pinnacle of true bliss. The exalted Buddha endowed with the six emanations of light having set his mind—*desesi bhagavā*—the exalted Buddha made the pronouncement at that time.

Atthavīsasatañcava saḥassaṇca sakkarāje saurīdivajunnāpakke dvadasaṇca miggasire tinnarīhāra bhogāhaṃ mahājanaṇca atthāya rājāvaṃsapakāraṇaṃ sankepena sukaritaṃ.

Atthavīsasatañcava saḥassaṇca sakkarāje saurīdivajunnāpakke dvadasaṇca miggasire—in the year 1128, on Saturday the 12th of the light half of Mārgasīrsha—*tinnarīhāra bhogāhaṃ*—I, the superior of Acwo' monastery—*mahājanaṇca atthāya*—that I may benefit the people—*rājāvaṃsapakāraṇaṃ*—an historical work to set forth the line of kings in succession—*sankepena*—in brief—*sukaritaṃ*—I have made for the benefit of the people who come after.

The interpretation of this is: On Saturday the 12th of the light half of Mārgasīrsha, in the year 1128, I, the superior of Acwo' monastery, have composed an historical work setting forth briefly the line of kings in succession for the benefit of the people.

*Nibbāna paccayo hotu.*¹⁵¹ This is the end.

*Di pu a.*¹⁵² *Ci pi se gi.*¹⁵³ *So so sa sa a a ni ni.*¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Let Nirvana be your trust.

¹⁵² *Di=dibba cakkhuñāṇaṃ*, the faculty of supernatural vision. *Pu=pubbenivasañāṇaṃ*, knowledge of former existences. *A=asavaṃkhaṇṇāṇaṃ*, knowledge of the extinction of human passion.

¹⁵³ *Ci=cīvaraṃ*, *pi=piṇḍapāto*, *se=senāsanaṃ*, *gi=gilāno*, the four necessary things for a Buddhist monk, namely, robes, food, bedding and medicine.

¹⁵⁴ *So=sotāpattimagga*, *so=sotāpattiphalaṃ*, *sa=sakadāgāmimagga*, *sa=sakadāgāmiphalaṃ*, *a=anāgāmimagga*, *a=anāgāmiphalaṃ*, *ni=nibbānaṃ*, *ni=nirodhasamāpatti*. These are the eight grades of sanctification.

Note on some authorities for the History of Burma.

BY J. A. STEWART.

The revival of interest in the History of Burma is shown by the appearance within the past twelvemonth of—

Konbaung zet Mahayazawindawgyi—Mg. Pe Tin, No. 11 Alawi (C) Road, Mandalay.

Thuthawdita Mahayazawingyi—Thudammawadi Saponhneittaik, Rangoon.

Mun Yazawin—Myammapyi Saponhneittaik, Alokthamya Athin Saponhneittaik, Rangoon.

To deal with these from last to first in the Homeric order; the Mun Yazawin is a little Volume of 110 pages said to be printed from an old manuscript in the Mingun Pitakat Taik, Sagaing. It contains a very brief sketch of the early History of Thaton and Pegu, and a fuller but still brief account of the dynasty which included the great Kings Razadirit and Dammazedi. Later history is not touched upon. The book appears to be based on one of a very numerous class of manuscripts, all giving much the same account of Thaton and Pegu under their national rulers, and differing from each other in emphasis rather than in fact. The early pages of Razadirit Ayedawbon, the first part of the Shwemawdaw Thamaing and an unpublished Thatonhnwe Mun Yazawin are instances of the class of manuscripts referred to. U Shwe Naw's Mun Yazawin is said to be based on old Talaing records obtained by Sir Arthur Phayre from Siam and used by him in writing his history of Burma. The Ramanya Taing Thon Yat Dattaw Thamaing purports to be the translation made for King Tharawaddy from Talaing manuscripts obtained in Martaban. Both these books are in origin independent of the purely secular histories. We may be certain there are still many manuscripts in Talaing and in Burmese giving further variants of both secular and religious history. Publication of any of them is a work of merit, especially as Rangoon had seemed to be losing interest in its own genuine national traditions. It is doubtful if the Dattaw Thamaing would be distributed now a days among the guests at a Shinbyu-ceremony as was done by U Ta Po of Sitkè Mg. Taw Le Street a dozen years ago; and it is doubtful if Rangoon or Moulmein could now produce helpers such as Major Phayre found in Sitkè U Taw Le, Akunwun U Pyaw, Myook U Shwe Kya, Sitkè Mg. Naw or Akunwun U Ta Dut. This unpretentious little Mun Yazawin is welcome, as a sign of reviving interest, and as all the Yazawins and Ayebons above mentioned are practically unprocurable, its appearance is opportune.

The Thuthawdita Yazawin, of which I have only seen 2 volumes although I believe others have since been published, is a reprint, in modernised spelling with some insignificant alterations, of the official history compiled in the time of King Bagyidaw and commonly known as the Hmannan Yazawin, and subsequent volumes will probably be based on the first edition of the Konbaungzet Yazawin.

The Konbaung zet is a reprint, with probably a few corrections, of the original publication by the Mandalay Times Press, 1905. So far Parts 1 and 2 have appeared, and Part 3 still remains to be published. The manuscript on which it was based, is, down to the year 1183 B.E. (1821 A.D.), the official history of Burma prepared under the orders of King Bagyidaw in 1191 B.E. and following years. From 1183 to 1229 the compilation was continued under the orders of King Mindon. From 1229 onwards the editor, U Tin, had to depend on records preserved by the Burmese officials, and on tradition.

It is important to note the conditions under which the official history was composed. A committee of learned priests, brahmans and ministers met in the palace, and after collation of the most reliable records they could procure produced what they considered to be an authentic narrative of events; except that they were compelled, as the phrase is, by the terms of reference, to glaze over incidents which might have been unpleasant in the ears of the King. They omitted some of the wilder legends. They used Talaing, Arakanese and other records and included in their history, not only an account of the dynasties which reigned in Pagan, Ava, Amarapura, Toungoo and other capitals of Burma proper, but also a succinct narrative of the Talaing and Arakanese Kingdoms.

The Hmannan and its continuation the Konbaungzet therefore purport to be a complete history of all the provinces falling within what is now known as Burma. It is not a mere chronicle or unedited annals, and thus differs from the Yazadirit Ayedawbon or the various Mun Yazawins above mentioned, whose narratives profess to represent only the Talaing point of view. It is convenient as being the most complete history of Burma available.

As to its authority there can only be one opinion. It is a history of Burma written from the aspect of Ava. Just as the great Alison rewrote the history of Europe with the object of showing that providence was on the side of the Tories, so the compilers of the Hmannan Yazawin seem to have treated the Arakanese and Talaing chronicles somewhat cavalierly, and to have admitted only so much of them as conduced to the honour and glory of that part of the province in which they were more immediately interested.

In a short essay such as this I cannot stay to develop every point. It is often of course difficult to say whether the Pegu or Ava version is preferable. At this date there is no means of testing the Talaing

allegation that Shans were always placed in the Burman front line.* There is no settling a discrepancy between the Hmannan and the Paklat history and deciding whether chillies were given by the Ava envoy to Razadirit or by Razadirit to the envoy, very important as such a decision would be to the historian of that pungent delicacy. I must however discuss rather fully a passage in the Hmannan which is obviously based on the Razadirit Ayebon. In the fighting around Prome a Talaing named Upakong performed prodigies of valour and was invited by Minyekyawzwa to come to the Burman camp and display his prowess. The Talaing general gave permission, and the Ayedawbon describes how on the appointed day Upakong dressed himself with great care and looking every inch a soldier mounted horse and rode to meet Minyekyawzwa; who received him on the bank of the river opposite his camp and accompanied him across. The Hmannan account omits to state that Upakong was met on the near bank of the river by Minyekyawzwa and makes no mention of his soldierly appearance. His reception in fact becomes merely an act of princely patronage instead of a well deserved tribute from one brave man to another. And the romance goes completely out of the story.†

These discrepancies may seem trivial, but indicate a certain failure of generosity, and show the narrow spirit of Ava nationalism which the compilers of the Hmannan history felt themselves bound to maintain.

Now, many of those who use the Hmannan are able to check a statement by reference to other authorities, but many more are not.

The Thuthawdita history, as has been said, is practically a reprint of the Hmannan, but is provided with a preface which contains the following statement: that the authors have compared a number of histories, have reconciled discrepancies and cleared up obscurities, and have produced a history of Burma which may be relied on as authoritative. This preface is signed by three gentlemen well known in the world of Burmese scholarship, and many have probably ordered the book on the strength of it or of advertisements containing similar claims. As has been shown, the extent of the editorial labour is negligible. Beyond correction of spelling and rearrangement of paragraphs, not always for the better, the editors, in volumes 1 and 2 at any rate, have done very little indeed. But the danger is not so much that people may give the editors more credit than they deserve, as that the purchaser may believe he is buying an accurate and trustworthy history of Burma. As has been pointed out, the Hmannan Yazawin itself is one sided, and the new history is of course equally so.

Pegu and the coastal regions of Burma were known to foreigners during the 15th, 16th, and 17th. centuries A.D. In Phayre's history

* Yazadirit Ayedawbon page 182 [A similar allegation was made by the Chinese in 1770; see *Shêngh Wu Chî*, ch. 6, page 9.—*Ed.*]

† Hmannan Yazawin Volume 2 Page 20 and Yazadirit page 219.

there is a chapter on early European intercourse with Burma in which the impressions of travellers of different nationalities are recorded. It must be remembered that most of these travellers had visited ports in the Persian Gulf and in India before coming to Burma, and were not likely to be unduly impressed by the mere externals of oriental royalty. Lewes Vertomannus visited Tenasserim about the year 1503-1504 in the reign of Binya Ram, of whom he says, "The King useth not such pomps and magnificence as doth the King of Calicut, but is of such humanity and affability that a child may come to his presence and speak with him."

Caesar Fredericke arrived in Pegu in 1567, during the reign of Bureng Naung. He describes how the king "sitteth every day in person to hear the suits of his subjects, up aloft in a great hall, on a tribunal seat with his barons round about," and how the petitioners sit on the ground "with their supplications in their hands which are made of long leaves of a tree, and a present or gift according to the weightiness of their matter. If the King think it good to do them that favour or justice they demand, then he commandeth to take the presents out of their hands; but if he think their demand be not just or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking their gifts or presents." "If any Christian dieth in the kingdom of Pegu, the king and his officers rest heirs of a third of his goods, and there hath never been any deceit or fraud used in this matter. I have known many rich men that have dwelled in Pegu, and in their age have desired to go in to their own country to die there, and have departed with all their goods and substance without let or trouble." In 1514, Giovanni da Empoli, "Passed before Martaman, the people also heathens...; men expert in everything, and first rate merchants; great masters of accounts and in fact the greatest in the world. They keep their accounts in books like us." These references, which could be supplemented from other books of travel, do not amount to much, but are sufficient to show that the people and the rulers of Pegu made a good impression on foreign visitors, that trade with other countries flourished, and that the Government did something to guarantee security of property.

I have read most of the available books of travel in a vain effort to find similar accounts of Ava kings or people. European traders did not travel far inland in the middle ages, but by the middle of the 18th. century when the Shwebo dynasty had been established, there was nothing to prevent travellers penetrating up the Irrawaddy, and they did in fact so penetrate. I refrain from quoting their accounts. The truth is that the first half dozen Kings of the Alaungpaya line had been much occupied otherwise, and had not had time to acquire the graces and dignity of Kingship, much less to master the principles of statecraft. This is the only charitable explanation of the petulant behaviour of the Kings, the degrading punishments they inflicted on their highest officials, and the indifference they often displayed to the welfare of their subjects.

Unluckily, by the time they had begun to acquire political wisdom, they had lost some of the ruder virtues of their fore-fathers.

The early kings were continually engaged in aggressive wars and they cultivated in the people a taste for distant expeditions. "Our merchants like to go to war," said a Burman minister in the end of the 18th century, "our armies are half composed of men who join war and traffic together, carrying a pack of goods as well as their arms with them."* The state of discipline in any army so composed could not have been high and it is known that no attempt was made to control looting. The Shwebo dynasty flourished only so long as it found neighbours willing to be "trafficked" with by invading Burman armies.

I have pointed out elsewhere that whereas in the middle of the 18th century A.D. the Siamese capital was moved from Ayuthia to Bangkok, in Burma Alaungpaya and his successors, with the choice of the whole country open to them, deliberately decided to retain the capital in the old neighbourhood of the Myitngè estuary and definitely cut themselves off from the sea. The court was soon left behind by the more important part of the kingdom in knowledge and enlightenment. It remained an isolated little community, with its own stock of ideas, having nothing in common with the outside world, unable to understand the elements of political economy, and opposing all suggested innovations by the old plea of adherence to ancient custom. The country was not well governed, and it is notable that no reorganisation of any department of Government was effected by kings of this dynasty. One would expect to find that at least army organisation had received attention from one or other of the more aggressive kings, and it does appear that the Manipuri horse and some other guards regiments were formed, but even the standing army was ill-equipped and ill-disciplined, and when the levies had to be mobilized, the system of obtaining funds by calling up an unnecessarily large number of men and allowing anyone who wished to purchase exemption, was regularly adopted. Prisoners of war from Siam, Chiengmai, Arakan, Pegu and the Shan States were formed into units and compelled to fight for their conquerors. The result was that the forces suffered heavily from desertion while on distant expeditions, and that the fighting spirit of the armies as a whole gradually deteriorated.

I have often thought that the happiest period and place in the history of Burma was Pegu in the 15th and 16th centuries under its own national kings, and regretted that the Mon dominion could not have been extended and maintained over the whole of Burma. It is a vain regret, and neither Razadarit nor any of the other kings of his dynasty came within measurable distance of such an attainment. The dynasty founded by Tabin-Shwehti had a better chance, and was more in sympathy with both the Talaing and Burman parts of the province than any previous or

* Cox, Page 393.

succeeding dynasty. But a succession of efficient kings was not forthcoming. Each was weaker than his predecessor. They were unable to protect the country against foreign invasion, and finally succumbed to the Talaings in 1751 A. D.

I mention these regrets by way of suggesting that everything did not work for the best in the course of Burmese history. In the Hmannan Yazawin the implication is that, up to a point, everything did happen for the best, and the authors or compilers are therefore insufficiently sympathetic towards other kingdoms and other races. The modern Burman is of exceedingly mixed descent. It is hardly possible to point to a single district even in Upper Burma whose inhabitants can claim to be of pure Burman race. It seems to me therefore wrong and unnatural that Burma of the present day should take the word of Aya for its history. Great Kings, who may be regarded if you like as heroes, are to be found in all dynasties: the Shan Hso-hkan-hpa, the Arakanese Minkhamaung, and the great figures of Pegu, Toungoo and Ava; and should all appeal to a modern and catholic taste in heroes. The feat of Byinyadala in conquering Upper Burma is certainly astounding, but not more so than Aungzeya's expulsion of the Talaings and conquest of their country. The Shan Thihathu, who from a small beginning in Pinle and Myinsaing made himself master of the Upper Irrawaddy valley and appears to have freed it from the Chinese yoke, is a figure worthy of admiration. Warero of Martaban, again a Shan, but founder of the great line of kings which ended with Takarotpi, is one of the Talaing heroes of whom all the histories have much to say. He was clearly a great personage and his name was known throughout Burma in his own day. Many other worthies could be mentioned. Their exploits are referred to in most cases in the Hmannan, but it is only by reading the minor chronicles that one can arrive at a full appreciation of them.

And there should be sympathy with misfortune as well as success. The tragedies of Burmese history however are as a rule too poignant to make pleasant reading. I may mention Manuha, King of Thaton, deposed by Anorata and carried captive to Pagan; and Kyawzwa, the last King of Pagan, who was captured and executed by the three Shan brothers. There is not a reference to him in the wonderful song of triumph, the Myinsaing Shield song, which glories over the flight of the invading Chinese army, no man if he found his horse waiting to look for his riding cane. But this barbaric paean cannot be appreciated unless one remember the tragic figure in the back ground.

So far we have spoken only or mainly of kings, and it is the fault of all the histories and chronicles that they say little of the state of the people and the country. Yet scattered references can be found, and if one extend one's reading to inscriptions, Sittans, Thamaings, and songs and ballads which have somehow survived, it is possible to picture to oneself the condition under which the people lived, the duties which were required of them by the state, and the system of local Government by which

they were controlled. Bad Kings were far more numerous than good Kings, and weak Kings exceeded the number of strong Kings. Practically the only Public Works undertaken by the Government were Irrigation works, and these received only intermittent attention. It is marvellous that in the irrigated areas of Upper Burma, which were regularly visited by invading armies and where the people had to hide their grain by burying it underground, the canals and head works should have been maintained in working order. This was not entirely due to the spasmodic efforts of the Government. It is said that king Mindon complained of the backwardness of Kyaukse District in respect of education and of the ignorance of the priests, and took steps to improve matters by sending out religious instructors from Mandalay. But to any one who has followed the fortunes of the district through centuries of a struggle with nature and the horrors of frequent invasions, the marvel is that any education or religion or population at all, should have survived in it. The real heroes of Burmese history are the people themselves. Through centuries of unrest while the country was being harried by invaders or wrested by one king from another, they somehow contrived to preserve the essentials of civilization. Much, no doubt, they owed to their religion and to the priesthood, but the purity of a religion or its ministry was never preserved in any country without the active co-operation of the people. The standard of literacy is high, and old travellers were always surprised to find that a boatman or labourer could read and write at a time when such accomplishments were exceedingly rare among the lower classes in western countries. The priesthood could never have enforced, and never attempted to enforce, attendance of boys at their schools, and the high standard of literacy can only have been due to the aspirations of the people. It is marvellous that these aspirations should have persisted throughout a very chequered history. Even more marvellous is the preservation of that moral and mental balance which may be described as a sense of proportion or a sense of humour. It is found in slightly different forms throughout Burma. Talaing humour is of distinctly different flavour from humour as found in the Burman part of the country, and I have no doubt that other races have their own types. Art and appreciation of the beautiful have never died. Physical vigour and manliness have always been respected. There are qualities, however, which the people have not developed. Probably one of the most unsatisfactory features of Burma at the present day is disinclination to service in the army and unwillingness to submit to military discipline. It used to be believed that Burmans were a nation of warriors, but this was never so, and the minister who was questioned on the subject by Cox, explained that only "particular classes went to war, some by prescriptive occupation continued such from father to son, but in general, only the poor; all those who paid a direct revenue to the King being exempted on certain conditions." It must be admitted that the military spirit, which is to a great extent the spirit of discipline, has still to be fostered, but there are many British Officers who served with Burman units during the Great War, who can testify that Burmans can be made into good soldiers and can be

educated to enjoy, at least in retrospect, the hardships and the comradeship of war. Again the civic virtues have not reached a high stage of development, and no constitutional progress whatever was made from the days of Anorata onwards. Yet one political institution has been preserved of which any country might be proud—the Myothugyi and village Headman, an autocrat in name but dependent for his authority on the moral support of his villagers. Probably few countries have such a convenient system of village government.

The object of this article however is not military or political propaganda. It is merely a plea for a broad view of the history of the country, by one who has read that history as widely as his time permitted, and who has failed to find any one book which is fair to all the diverse races and their perfectly legitimate aspirations. I confess to finding the history of Burma an interesting study and have never troubled to define to myself its importance. I see, as has been said, a reviving interest in this subject, and it seems that the present is an opportune moment to plead that if history is to be studied at all, some attempt should be made by the student to arrive at the truth. It is unfortunate that there is no book in existence which can be accepted as a standard history, but until some satisfactory redaction is accomplished, it is necessary to read as widely as possible, to check one chronicle by another, to test Burman accounts by Chinese, Shan or Talaing, and to remember that much valuable information can be derived from the diaries of merchants and envoys who visited the country. It is often a difficult task to select the most probable story, but it is perhaps this difficulty which gives interest to the study at its present stage, and will continue to be the chief source of interest for many years to come. To accept any one book as a standard is to make the subject dull, and this article if dull in itself may pass as a protest against dullness.

J. A. STEWART.

STORY OF THE MIGRATIONS.

By MAJOR C. M. ENRIQUEZ, I.A.

3/20th Burma Rifles (Kachins).

The early history of Burma is the story of immigrations of the races now occupying it. The memory of those movements is lost, and forgotten, but echoes survive in legends; and language-affinities have been discovered which, as our knowledge advances, link various peoples into definite groups. From such material only, and by examining the present distribution of the races, is it possible to reconstruct the story of these extraordinary movements. The legends that remain are fragmentary, but there survives the Burmese tradition of the Pyu, Kamran and Sak from whom they are derived. The Taungthas speak of a residence on Mount Popa: the Taman remember wanderings in China and on the shores of the Indawgyi Lake. The Kachins recollect a former home on the flat hill of *Mājoi Shingra Bum*: while the Maru speak of *Ngaw-laung Pam*, Lashi of *Mao-muk Lawm*, and Atsi of *Ulung Bum*. Those restless wanderers, the Lisu, speak of the birth-place of their race as the 'Moon Rocks' of *Rgha-hanpa*. The whole fabric is guess work, but the stage now reached has the appearance of strong probability, and goes far towards explaining the occurrence of the various races, whose distribution at first appears incomprehensible. Nevertheless, the argument is mainly philological—and that cannot be regarded as conclusive, seeing, as we do, races around us who change their speech and identity without apparent effort. For many years, Tibet was considered the home of the Burmese and allied races; but this theory has now given place to the opinion that the migrations of all originated in Western China, in some undefined region between the sources of the Yangtsi and Hoang Ho Rivers.¹ The ancestors of the present Mongolian population of Burma proceeded thence in three distinct and separate waves of allied races—races which are linked by language, and whose present distribution, apparently hap-hazard, is, in the light of our theory, more or less intelligible. The waves of immigration in their order were as follows:—

First, *Mon-Khmer*. The Mon-Khmer races include Talaing, Wa, La, Tai Loi, Palaung, Palé, Riang, En and Annamite.

Second, *Tibeto-Burman*. They are classified under three heads:—

A. *Burmese*. These include Burmese, Kadu, Maru, Lashi, Atsi, Nung, Intha; Danu, Taungyo, Taman, Yaw, Mro, Chaungtha, and Arakanese.

B. *Chin-Kachin*. These include Chin, Kachin, Gauri, Singpho, and Duleng.

1. Census Report, 1911, Vol. IX Part I. Page 252.

C. *Lolo*. These include Lolo, Lisu or Yawyin, Lahu with Muso and Kwi, Moso, Miao, Kaw and Ako.

Third, *Tai-Chinese*. The Tai-Chinese races include Shans, Siamese and the various kinds of Karens.

The *Mon-Khmer* invasion was the first great irruption from Central Asia into the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Its main line of advance was south, down the Mekong Valley into Cambodia and Siam whence, by a lateral westward movement, it reached Burma and spread thinly over it.² Subsequently, it was forced back upon itself by later Burmese invasions, and its members (Wa, Palaung, Palé, Riag, En and Talaing) are found now in isolated pockets all down the south-east frontiers of Burma.

The *Tibeto-Burman* invasion left the Yangtsi and Hoang Ho basins in a westerly direction breaking into several branches of which one reached Tibet, and another turned south and overran Burma in three main streams—Chin-Kachin, Burmese, and Lolo. The Chin stream, taking the line of the Chindwin, distributed itself along the mountains down the whole length of Burma on its western side.

The Kachins followed in their wake much later, and entering Upper Burma, turned south-east as described later. The Lolo stream took the Mekong and Salween routes, and is found principally in China. It has entered only the extreme eastern edge of what is now Burma, being represented down the north-east frontier by scattered communities of Lisu (Yawyin), Lahu (Muhso), Kwi, Kaw and Ako. The major part of the Tibeto-Burman wave, however, took the central or Irrawaddy route during the early part of our era, and developed at a later date (about the 9th century A.D.) into the Burmese. At first they were simply nomad tribes, like Pyu, Kamran and Sak, who had no cohesion, and no doubt closely resembled the Chins and Kachins of today. In their southward movement down the N'Mai Hka Valley they left derelict settlements in their wake, such as Nung (Kuitze), Maru, Lashi, Atsi, Hpon and Kadu, through whom it may be possible one day to ascertain more clearly the story of their advance. Major Davies has pointed out the connection that exists in the speech of these races "sufficiently close to warrant the belief that they spoke one language at no very distant period." If these names are underlined in order from north to south on the map between latitudes 28° and 24°, the legendary route of these early Burmese races seems to materialise, and one is irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that they followed the great Valley of the N'Mai. In Burma they may have encountered Shans, but if so these were mere eddies of a later wave which was to over-run Upper Burma in their rear. They certainly encountered the Mon-Khmer who had over-extended, and who retired south until at Prome they, in the persons of Talaings, were sufficiently concentrated to offer successful resistance. The Pyu founded a capital at Prome at the begin-

² Census Report, 1911, Vol. IX Part I, Page 251.

ning of our era. The struggle ebbed and flowed along the Prome line until at last the Pyu, and others, were thrown back north.

These are the first incidents that even legend has preserved. Driven north, the Pyu founded a new capital at Pagan, consolidated, amalgamated with other tribes, and subsequently vanished, emerging again (phoenix-wise) to new life as Burmans.

The later history of Burma is simply the logical developement of these primeval events. Up to the eighteenth century the Burmese and Talaing (modern incarnations of the old Tibeto-Burmans and Mon-Khmers) swayed to and fro across the length of Burma in bloody wars; while in the north a similar struggle was in progress between Burmans and Shans (Tibeto-Burmans and Tai-Chinese). That is the history of Burma in a nut-shell, and it has its origin away back in the mists of time. The old animosities survive. The Burmese now number about 8 millions. The group includes Arakanese, Tavoyans, and comparatively insignificant, and dwindling races such as the Intha, Taungyo and Danu of the Southern Shan States, the Kadu of Katha, the Taman of Chindwin, the Yaw of Pakokku, the Mro and Chaungtha of Arakan, and the Yabein of Pegu.

The *Tai-Chinese* wave, the last of the primeval movements, proceeded, so far as the Shans are concerned, from the regions of Tali Fu where existed the Shan State of Nan Chao. This wave (of which one branch overran Siam) passed right across Upper Burma into Assam and Eastern Bengal: and when it ebbed, left isolated Shan communities high and dry in Hkamti, Chindwin, Myitkyina, and Bhamo, as well as in Lower Burma.

The Chinese origin of the Karens is now accepted.* The Census Report of 1911** states that the Karens probably "came from the cradle of nearly all Indo-Chinese races—the highlands of Western China. They preceded the main migration of Shans. Peacefully, quietly, unobtrusively they moved, avoiding all contact with the tribes they passed." Entering Burma at a point near Karen-ni in the Southern Shan States, they "followed the line of least resistance, preferring the hardships and obstacles of hills, jungles and uninhabited regions to the dangers of conflict with fellow beings. Their movements have left no impression on the histories of other races." This same aloofness is characteristic of the Karens to-day. They have no history, and have never produced distinguished leaders. With Karens are included: Taungthu, Karen-ni (Red Karens), Karen-net (Black Karens), Karen-byu (White Karens), Zayein, Sinsin, Bre, Mano, Yimbaw, Padaung and others.

*Archaeological Survey : March 1917. Paras 51 and 52.

**Census Report, 1911 Vol. IX part I. Page 254.

Migrations are not necessarily a sudden exodus of a people. They may constitute quickly succeeding and irresistible waves, followed or preceded by centuries of slow shifting of individuals and families impelled by economic causes of which they are but dimly conscious. They move like water over dust—creeping here, running to fill a hollow there, or rushing for a little down an easy incline.

Nor are these movements by any means finished yet. The Kachins were no doubt arrested half way, perhaps by the Shan wave across their path, and they only poured into Burma two or three centuries ago. They moved finally in a south-easterly direction across Upper Burma, driving out the Palaungs till the British Annexation. The movement, in spite of every discouragement, is still in motion towards the Northern Shan States. Other migrations are also in full progress. Chinese are entering Burma from two directions. Shan Tayoks from Yunnan are settling in Myothit (Bhamo). A distinct Miao immigration is in progress. A noticeable inflow of Yawyins (Lisu) occurred in Mogok in 1907, and into Ahkyang (Putao) in 1920: and the Karens are also in motion. Within our times, northern Chin tribes have vanished, or disappeared and re-entered our territories elsewhere: while in the south they are crossing the Irrawaddy to occupy the Pegu Yomas. Under British rule these movements have to be peaceable: but wherever there is space, they are in progress. Thus we see the Marus and Kachins struggling to establish themselves in the Northern Shan States. The story of these recent movements is often traceable. The villagers remember that their grandfathers lived in the north: and when at last the community is urged by some strange instinct, it moves into the south. Thus the Karens, who are obsessed with this spirit of restlessness, have forced their way far down the peninsula, even to Tavoy and Mergui.

These migrations are habitually southwards. Something is urging the people to the south—unless local conditions, or the unpopularity of governments, cause them to deviate. For instance, the ancient Sak may have turned round in their tracks and reappeared again as Kadus in Upper Chindwin. Other cases are known where a southward moving tribe has suddenly turned north. A generation ago the Kuki Chins left the Chin Hills, settled in Manipur, and since 1877 have re-entered Burma again in the Somra Hill Tracts at a point considerably to the north of their original settlement. These, however, are exceptional cases. As a whole these people seem to yearn to the south. The Kachins, having reached Burma only two or three centuries ago, retain at least a vague tradition of their migration. Their legend preserves the memory of a place called *Majoi Shingra Bum* (Naturally Flat Mountain). This was the birth-place of the race, and must be sought amongst the highlands of Mongolia, or on the border-land of Eastern Tibet and Western Ssü-chuan. From there they started their primeval migration which was arrested half way for many generations—probably by a barrier of Shans across their path. I am inclined to think that that half way halt of the Kachins

occurred in the "Triangle" of the N'Mai and Mali Hka rivers, or that the "Triangle" was at any rate the southern part of the area then occupied by them.

In support of this theory we have the fact that Kachins in the "Triangle" claim a residence there of over 40 generations, while those of Sadon claim only 9, of Hukong 7, the Gauris 7, the Kodaung Kachins 4 or 5, and those of Kutkai 3 or less. In these latter areas the names of villages like Palawng Katawng, Tun Hkung etc., and the ruins of pagodas, suggest the recent residence of Buddhist Palaungs. Kachin tombs, by their number, support the Kachin assertion of recent arrival; and in the Gauri country, the elaborate system of terraced fields is no doubt of Palaung origin. It would seem, then, that the "Triangle" is the country from which Kachin areas now to the south of it have been gradually stocked.

It is suggested by Mr. Lewis in his "*Tribes of Burma*" that the Tibeto-Burman Migration was split in its march by a barrier of mountains that exist west of the Salween in latitude 30.° To avoid these snowy ranges the Burman tribes took a route to the east of the barrier, leaving in their wake the Nung, Maru, Lashi, Hpon and Kadu to mark for us their trail. The Chins came west of the barrier: and long after them the Kachins, who, finding the present Chin Hills already occupied, had to turn south-east across Upper Burma. This has brought them across Burma, away from the Chins, and in amongst the Burman tribes who had taken the eastern route. Hence the present association of Kachins with Marus and Lashis, with whom they have to some extent amalgamated. The similarity of language between the now separated Kachins and Chins is striking. If we are right in believing that the half-way halt of the Kachins for forty generations occurred in the "Triangle," the problem arises—How did they get there? The explanation may be found in the Kachin habit—still potent—of preferring to travel along mountain ridges rather than along river valleys. I believe that, as in the case of their Chin cousins, the great easy, inviting ridges directed their southward steps, as the great rivers did the steps of other races. Thus they passed by the Hkamti Plain, which may have been occupied already by Shans. The Duleng of Putao are no doubt a monument of their passage. On reaching the confines of Burma, the Kachin migration must have divided into two streams, one along the mountains towards Sumptra Bum where it again split moving (a) south along the Sumptra Bum ridges, and (b) south-west towards Daru Kyet where the Kachin inhabitants now claim a residence of 60 generations. The other stream must have moved down the ranges of the "Triangle," where they have been forced to remain 40 generations till the Shan barrier across their route weakened and fell to bits. Then, two or three centuries ago, they resumed their march into Burma.

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Major, I.A.

The Chronological Dates of the Kings of Burma who reigned at Thayekhittaya (ancient Prome), and at Pagan¹.

BY MAUNG HLA.

The purpose of the present paper is to tabulate the dates, in chronological order, of the kings of Burma who reigned at Thayekhittaya (ancient Prome) and at Pagan, from the very early times—as early as the 5th century B. C.—to the first quarter of the 14th. century A. D., with such remarks as are deemed necessary, in order to facilitate matters for those who are engaged in epigraphical and historical research. The dates are given as they are entered in, and tabulated in order of the date of composition of, the following four native chronicles:—

1. *Jātābon Yazawin** or “Chronological Tables based on Royal horoscopes”, compiled from 1672-1698 A. D., during the reigns of King Narawara and King Minyè Kyawtin of Ava.
2. *Maung Kala Yazawin*,* known also as *Mahā Yazawingyi*, written by Maung Kala, son of banker Dewa of Singaing during the reign of King Hman-nan-shin of Ava (1714-1733 A. D.).
3. *Twinthin Yazawin** or *Mahā Yazawinthit*, by Minister Mahasithu of Myadaung village, Alon, who was generally known as Twinthin Wun (minister of Twinthin); date of compilation, 1733-1819 A. D.
4. *Hman-nan Yazawin* or “Chronicle of the Glass Palace”, compiled by a body of scholars, including learned monks and brahmins, at Ava in 1829, during the reign of King Bagyidaw.

Differences in the dates of kings are not infrequent. It will be seen that the three chronicles, viz. the *Maung Kala*, *Twinthin*, and *Hman-nan* agree in the dates of all the kings of Prome, the *Jātābon* agreeing with them in respect of the first four kings only. When we come to the dates of the kings of Pagan, we find that for the first nineteen kings, only the above three chronicles agree; while all the four agree in respect of the following fifteen kings, i.e. down to Pyinbya. From Pyinbya's successor, Tannek, down to Kyanyittha, the dates given in the *Twinthin* chronicle tally with those of the *Hman-nan*; while all the chronicles differ in the date of the 45th king, Alaungsithu. In the date of the 46th king, Narathu, the *Jātābon* and the *Hman-nan* agree; for the kings from the 47th, Minyin Naratheinkha, to the 54th ruler, Sawnit, both the *Hman-nan* and *Twinthin*

1. The tables attached to this article were prepared in the office of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Burma, and are here printed by his kind permission—Ed.

* These works have not been printed and the Mss. are not readily available.

chronicles mention the same dates; and according to the *Hman-nan* and the *Mauṅg Kala*, the last king, Sawmunnit, began to reign in the year 1325 A. D. and for a period of 43 years.

Such differences in dates are due mainly to the differences in the reckoning of years of the length of reign. In those cases where the date of *abhiseka* or consecration is taken as the date of ascension, length of reign cannot be arrived at approximately; and when there is a difference of a year or two, we are inclined to think that in the length of reign either both the year of accession and that of death have been included, or the ordinal numbers have been taken to stand for the cardinals, the actual reckoning in the latter case giving always one year less. But when the differences amount to more than two years, it is difficult to rectify them.

We shall see from the "Remarks", that Duttabaung, the third king of the first dynasty, founded Thayékhittaya or ancient Prome in 443 B. C.,* and that all the remaining kings of the same dynasty ruled at the same capital for more than five hundred years. With the destruction of Thayékhittaya in the first century of the Christian Era, there was a change of dynasty and of the capital. Thamokdayit, said to be a nephew of Thuppiñña-nagasein, established a new dynasty (now called the Pagan dynasty) with the capital at Yon-hlút-kyun which was also called Tampadīpa. Five of his successors ruled at the same capital till the year 344 A. D.,* when Théle-gyaung, the 7th king of this new Pagan dynasty, removed the capital to Lawkananda whose classical name was Sīripaccayā. Five kings reigned at this capital. The year 516 A. D.* saw the accession of Thaik-taing who removed the capital to Thamati (classical name, Tampavati), which remained the seat of government for the reigns of twenty two kings. The city of Pagan owed its existence to the 34th king, Pyinbya, who founded it on the site of present Pagan in the year 849 A. D.* At this capital reigned the last twenty-two kings. It may, however, be said that the Pagan monarchy practically came to an end in 1298 A. D.* when Kyawzwa, the 53rd king, was deposed by the three Shan brothers—Athinkaya, Yazathingyan, and Thihathu.

It may be mentioned that the Myazedi stone † at Pagan, dated 1112 A. D., set up by Prince Zeyyakhittaya, son of King Kyanyittha by Thambhula of the Gyaungbyu village, has fixed with a reliable degree of certainty the dates of accession of King Kyanyittha and his successor, Alaungsithu, and of the former's predecessors, Sawlu and Anawrata.‡ It may, therefore, be said that we touch firm ground only with Anawrata. For those kings who preceded Anawrata, we are, in the absence of epigraphical evidences, entirely thrown back on the dates as entered in the four

* These are the dates given in the *Hman-nan Yazawin*.

† Vide Chas. Duroiselle, "The Burmese Face of the Myazedi inscription at Pagan," *Epigraphia Birmanica* Vol. I, part I.

‡ The dates of these four kings, as fixed by the above inscription, correspond with those given in the *Jātābon*: *ibid* pp. 3-4, and Taw Sein Ko, "Burmese Sketches" Vol. I, p. 66.

chronicles, unreliable as they are. These dates must, in the present state of our knowledge, be entirely tentative and they are left to be modified or upset by future discovery. They will, however, afford us some data that will tend to make future epigraphical and historical researches easier.

In this paper we must not omit a short reference to the introduction and use of Eras in Burma. There are three eras, viz. the Era of Religion, the Saka Era, and the Vulgar Era. They are of foreign origin, all being introduced from India.* The Era of Religion was inaugurated by Ajātasattu, king of Magadha, in 544 B. C., † the very first day after the full moon of Kason (May : June) which was the day of the Buddha's *parinirvāna*. This era began with the year 1 and was in use up to 80 A. D. when Thamondari, the 25th king of the Prome dynasty, eliminated 622 years from the Religious Era 624 (i.e., 544 + 80) and introduced a new era, beginning with the year 2. As the era began with the year 2, it must be reckoned to have started from 78 A. D. This era is generally known as the *Dodorasa* Era, *dodorasa* being mnemonic for 622; and this is, or corresponds to, the Saka Era so extensively used in India, Cambodia and Campa. The Vulgar Era, or the era which is now in use, was introduced by Popa Sawrahan, the 29th king of the Pagan dynasty, in 640 A. D., by eliminating 560 years from the Saka Era and beginning with the year 2. This era is known as the *Khachapañca* (i.e. 560) era : and is assumed to have commenced in 638 A. D., because it began with year 2.

The table subjoined shows the serial number of kings of each dynasty, names of kings, date of accession, length of reign in years, age at the date of accession, and remarks. Under the names of kings, the name of the king is given in Burmese, as it appears in present day historical writings; against it, its literal transliteration into English in accordance with the "Literal Transliteration of the Burmese Alphabet" ‡ by Chas. Duroiselle; and below the latter is the popular pronunciation given in general accordance with the transliteration scheme of the Burma Government § The literal transliteration of the name may be of use to those who are unacquainted with Burmese and who wish to make further studies on this subject; and it may in some cases offer a clue to the etymology of the name. Under the "Date of accession", by the side of the Burmese year is given its equivalent year B. C. or A. D.

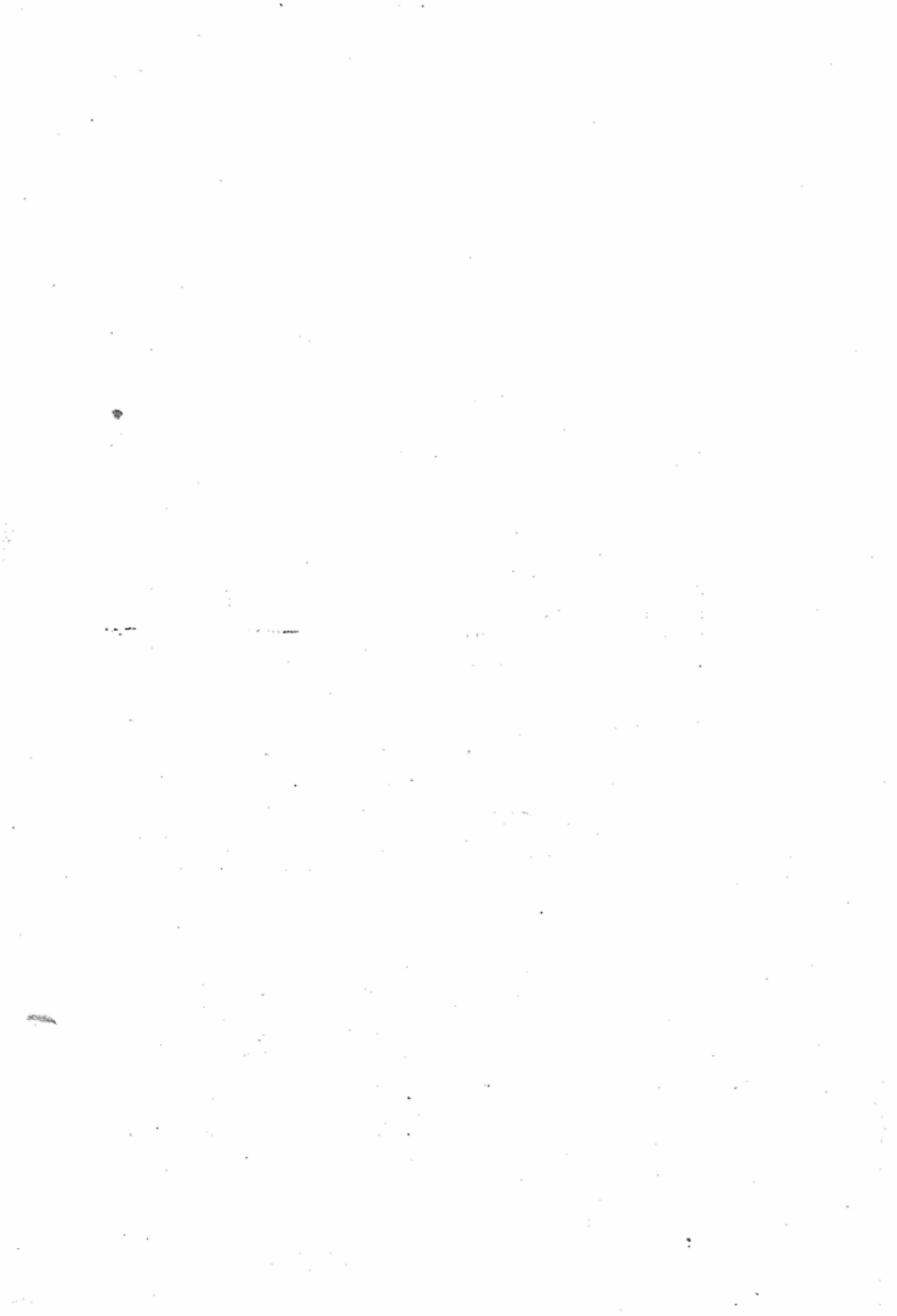
It is a pleasant duty to thank M. Chas. Duroiselle, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the advice and help he has given me in preparing these tables. It is not too much to say that this article owes its inception to him,

* Cunningham, "Book of Indian Eras," p. 71.

† According to Burmese chronology, the year of Buddha's death is placed in 544 B. C.

‡ Vide, ante vol. VI part II, p. 81.

§ "Tables for the transliteration of Burmese into English," Rangoon, 1908.



Kings of Burma who reigned at Thayé-Khittaya; ancient Prome.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	Jatābon Yazawin.				Maung Kala Yazawin.				Twinthin Yazawin.				Hman-nan Yazawin.				REMARKS
		Year of Accession.	B. C.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Year of Accession.	B. C.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Year of Accession.	B. C.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Year of Accession.	B. C.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	
1	မုဝဝဝမုဝ, Mahāsambhawa... မုဝဝဝမုဝ, Mahāthanbwa	60	484	6	20	60	484	6	20	60	484	6	20	60	484	6	20	Mahāthanbwa arrived near Prome from Tagaung, married Bhedayi and became king.
2	မုဝဝမုဝ, Cūlasambhawa... မုဝဝမုဝ, Sulāthanbwa	66	478	35	26	66	478	35	26	66	478	35	26	66	478	35	26	
3	မုဝမုဝမုဝ, Dwattapon... မုဝမုဝမုဝ, Duttabaung	101	443	70	35	101	443	70	35	101	443	70	35	101	443	70	35	Contemporary of Kalāsoka who held the second Buddhist Council at Vesālī; founded Srikshetrā (ancient Prome) in 443 B.C. [Hman-nan, p. 174].
4	မုဝမုဝမုဝ, Dwattaran... မုဝမုဝမုဝ, Duttayan	171	373	45	43	171	373	22	50	171	373	22	45	171	373	59		
5	မုဝမုဝမုဝ, Ranpon... မုဝမုဝမုဝ, Yanbaung	216	328	45	45	193	351	50	40	193	351	50	37	193	351	50	40	Contemporary of Asoka, convener of the Third Buddhist Council. [Hman-nan, p. 181].
6	မုဝမုဝမုဝ, Ranman... မုဝမုဝမုဝ, Yanman	261	283	47	35	243	301	50	30	243	301	50	30	213	301	50	30	

7	၇၀၃၆	Rakkhan Yakkhan	308	236	28	46	293	251	31	40	293	251	31	40	
8	၈၆၀၀၀၆	Khan'lon ^a Khanlaung	336	208	33	42	324	220	38	37	324	220	38	37	
9	၉၀၀၃၆	Lakkuin Lakhaing	369	175	30	43	362	182	34	39	362	182	34	39	
10	၁၀၀၃၆	Sirikhon Thayikhan	399	145	28	40	396	148	28	39	396	148	28	40	
11	၁၁၀၃၆	Siriraj Thiriyit	427	117	19	42	424	120	9	11	424	120	9	51	He abolished the current era, but the abolition was not recognized.
12	၁၂၀၀၆	Natapa ^a Ngadaba	446	98	51	15	433	111	51	15	433	111	51	15	In his 17th regnal year the <i>Tripitaka</i> was committed to writing at Ceylon during the reign of King Vattagamani [Hman-nan].
13	၁၃၀၆၆	Papiran Papiyan	497	47	20	37	484	60	66	37	484	60	66	37	6th regnal year, King Milinda converted with <i>Thera</i> Nagasena at Sagala in Northern India. [Hman-nan].
14	၁၄၀၃၆	Ramukkha Yanmukkha	517	27	15	35	550	AD. 6	15	46	550	AD. 6	15	67	All the chronicles except the <i>Jatābon</i> place the beginning of the Christian era in the 60th regnal year of Papiyan. (No. 13).
15	၁၅၀၃၆	Ransintha Yanthekkha	532	12	3	35	565	21	3	45	565	21	3	65	

Kings of Burma who reigned at Thayé-Khittaya; ancient Prome.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	Jatābon Yazawin.				Maung Kala Yazawin.				Twinthin Yazawin.				Hman-nan Yazawin				REMARKS.
		Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	
		Year of Religion.	B. C.			Year of Religion.	A. D.			Year of Religion.	A. D.			Year of Religion.	A. D.			
16	ရဲခင်းဝံ, Rannūncalinda Yanmūncalinda	535	9	15	33	568	24	15	15	568	24	15	30	568	24	15	50	According to the Jatābon, the Chris- tian era began in the 9th year of Yan- mūncalinda's reign.
17	ဗေရိန္ဒာ, Bherinda Beycinda	550	A.D.	6	27	583	39	12	24	583	29	12	42	583	39	12	63	
18	မုနုဇာ Muñcala Munzala	563	19	15	28	595	51	5	28	595	51	5	37	595	51	5	58	
19	ပုဏ္ဏ Pūṇṇa Ponna	578	34	3	25	600	56	3	15	600	56	3	25	600	56	3	43	
20	ဓနု Saka Thakha	581	37	3	27	603	59	3	17	603	59	3	27	603	59	3	44	
21	ဓနု Sasi Thathi	584	40	7	23	606	62	3	17	606	62	3	15	606	62	3	29	
22	ကုဏ္ဍ, Kanna Kan-nu	591	47	2	18	609	65	1	10	609		1	15	609	65	1	30	
23	ကုဏ္ဍဝံ, Kantak Kantet	593	49	2	15	610	66	3	18	610	66	3	25	610	66	3	32	
24	ဗိဇ္ဇာ, Bhijja Beikza	595	51	9	21	613	69	4	21	613	69	4	35	613	69	4	37	

25 သုခိယံ, Thamondari	604	60	5	20	617	73	7	17	617	73	7	16	617	73	7	24
26 အဝိဇ္ဇာ, Atitrā Atitaya	603	65	3	19	2	80	3	19	2	80	3	15	2	80	3	15
27 သုပ္ပာနာသိ, Supaññāna- garachinna Thuppyinnya- nagasein.	612	68	12	29	5	83	11	29	5	83	11	8	5	83	11	17

Thamondari, in the last year of his reign, eliminated 622 years from the current era and introduced a new era which began with the year 2; but the Jātabon chronicle places the introduction of this new era in the last year of Thuppyinnya-Nagasein's (No. 27) reign.

* It is written *Sakarāj* here, because it corresponds to the Saka era so extensively used in India, Cambodia and Campā, and in order to distinguish it from the existing era which is generally written *Sakkarāj*.

II. Kings of Burma who reigned at Pagan.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	Jatābon Yazawin.				Maung Kala Yazawin.				Twinthin Yazawin.				Hman-nan Yazawin.				REMARKS.
		Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	
		Saka-rāj.	A. D.			Saka-rāj.	A. D.			Saka-rāj.	A. D.			Saka-rāj.	A. D.			
1	သုဓမ္မဝါရဏ် Samuddharāj Thamokdayit	45	32	29	107	...	32	29	107	45	32	29	107	45	32	There is an inter-regnum of 13 years before this Pagan dynasty begins; but the dates as entered in the Jatābon admit of no interregnum. Thamokdayit founded the capital at Yon-blut-kyun [Hman-nan].
2	ရခေးကြောင် Rase'kron Yathegyaung	47	125	15	55	74	52	15	91	74	152	15	91	74	152	15	91	
3	ပြုစောဝီး Prūcothi. Pyasaceti	62	140	82	35	89	167	75	35	89	167	75	35	89	167	75	35	
4	တီးခင်းသတ် Thi'man'yañ Timinyin	144	222	27	45	164	242	57	50	164	242	57	50	164	242	57	50	Removed the capital to Siripaccaya (i.e. Lawkananā) in 344 A. D. [Hman-nan].
5	ယဉ်ခင်းပိုင် Yañman'puik Yinminbaik	171	249	85	20	221	293	25	50	221	299	25	50	221	299	25	50	
6	ပိုင်သတ်လည်း Puikseñlañ Paik-the-le	256	334	37	40	246	324	20	40	246	324	20	40	246	324	20	41	
7	သေသတ်လည်း Señlañ'kron The-le-gyaung	293	371	44	53	266	344	43	53	266	344	43	53	266	344	43	53	His immediate predecessor, Mokkhaman, ၄၇၃၁ (not mentioned here) reigned only 3 months. [Hman-nan].
8	ကြောင်သုဓမ္မဝါရဏ် Kron'du'rac Kyaungduyit	337	415	25	55	309	387	25	25	309	387	25	25	309	387	25	55	
9	သည့်ထန် Sañ'than Thātan	362	440	37	30	334	412	27	35	334	412	27	35	334	412	27	35	
10	သုရဲ Sūrai Thrye	399	477	15	33	361	439	55	33	361	439	55	33	361	439	55	32	His immediate predecessor, Mokkhaman, ၄၇၃၁ (not mentioned here) reigned only 3 months. [Hman-nan].
11	သုရဲသုဓမ္မဝါရဏ် Saramwanphya Tharamunbya	414	492	22	55	416	494	22	55	416	494	22	55	416	494	22	55	

			436	514	7	33	438	516	7	45	438	516	7	45	Founded Tapa- vati (i.e. Thamat) in 516 A.D. [Hman nan].
12	သွင်ဝဇ္ဇ	Sulkuin <i>Thaik-iaing</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	သေင်္ဂလင်္ကာဝဇ္ဇာ	Señlaṅka- <i>onay</i>	443	521	9	22	445	523	9	35	445	523	9	35	
14	သေင်္ဂလင်္ကာဝဇ္ဇာ	<i>The-le-gyau-ge.</i>	452	530	5	20	454	532	15	20	454	532	15	20	
15	ခရီးတောင်	Khanṣ loṅṣ <i>Khanlaung</i>	457	535	10	29	469	547	10	32	469	547	10	32	
16	ခရီးတောင်	Khanṣ lat <i>Khanlat</i>	467	545	12	21	479	557	12	39	479	557	12	39	
17	ထွန်ဝဇ္ဇာ	Thwantuik <i>Tuntak</i>	479	557	13	19	491	569	13	35	491	569	13	35	
18	ထွန်ဝဇ္ဇာ	Thwānpac <i>Tunbyit</i>	492	570	16	20	504	582	16	30	504	582	16	30	
19	ထွန်ဝဇ္ဇာ	Thwankhyac <i>Tunchit</i>	508	586	27	26	520	598	15	22	520	598	15	22	
20	ပုပ္ဖဝဇ္ဇာ	Puppas Corahan <i>Popa Saurahan</i>	535	613	27	66	535	613	27	32	535	613	27	32	Also known as Saṅgharāja, elimi- nated 560 years, in the last year of his reign and introduc- ed the existing era beginning with year 2.
21	ဓမ္မဝဇ္ဇာ	Rhwe unṣ sīṣ <i>Shwe-onthi</i>	535	613	12	35	535	613	12	35	535	613	12	35	
22	ပိတုဝဇ္ဇာ	Pitsum <i>Pett-thon</i>	14	652	8	40	14	652	8	41	14	652	8	41	
23	ပိတုဝဇ္ဇာ	Pittoṅṣ <i>Petttaung</i>	22	660	50	22	22	660	50	22	22	660	50	22	
24	နဂါး	Nakhweṣ <i>Ngakhwe</i>	72	710	6	52	72	710	6	55	72	710	6	55	
25	မြင်း	Mraṅṣ kyweṣ <i>Myinkywe</i>	78	716	10	21	78	716	10	21	78	716	10	21	

II. Kings of Burma who reigned at Pagan.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	Jatabon Yazawin.				Maung Kala Yazawin.				Twinthin Yazawin.				Hman-nan Yazawin.				REMARKS.
		Sakka-rāj.	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Sakka-rāj.	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Sakka-rāj.	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Sakka-rāj.	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	
26	ဝိဇ္ဇိ Sinkha <i>Theinkha</i>	88	726	8	53	88	726	8	53	88	726	8	53	88	726	8	53	Founded presents Pagan in 849 A.D. [Hman-nan, p. 223].
27	ဝိဇ္ဇိ Sins'cwan <i>Theincun</i>	96	734	10	40	96	734	10	42	96	734	10	42	96	734	10	55	
28	ရွှေဘို Rhweŋon ³ <i>Shwe-laung</i>	106	744	9	20	106	744	9	35	106	744	9	35	106	744	9	35	
29	ရွှေဘို Thwawtwan ³ <i>Tundwin</i>	115	753	9	30	115	753	9	26	115	753	9	26	115	753	9	26	
30	ရွှေဘို Rhweŋhok <i>Shwe-nhauk</i>	124	762	23	19	124	762	23	19	124	762	23	19	124	762	23	20	
31	ရွှေဘို Mwanlat <i>Munlat</i>	147	785	17	30	147	785	17	39	147	785	17	39	147	785	17	39	
32	ရွှေဘို Cokhainhac <i>Sazekhin nhrít</i>	164	802	27	30	164	802	27	36	164	802	27	36	164	802	27	36	
33	ရွှေဘို Khalis ³ <i>Khele</i>	191	829	17	23	191	829	17	27	191	829	17	35	191	829	17	35	
34	ရွှေဘို Pyawpyaw ³ <i>Pyinbya</i>	208	846	30	30	208	846	12	30	208	846	32	45	208	846	32	45	
35	ရွှေဘို Tannak <i>Tan-net</i>	238	876	28	18	220	858	18	18	240	878	28	28	240	878	28	28	

36	စလောဗေဒ:	Caleñakhes ³ <i>Sa-le Ngakhate</i>	266	1004	30	30	238	876	25	30	268	906	9	50	268	906	9	50
37	သိန်းခုံ	Sinokhui <i>Thein-go</i>	236	934	22	16	263	901	16	22	277	915	16	25	277	915	16	25
38	တောင်သူကြီး	Tonsukhis <i>Taungthugyi</i>	318	956	45	33	279	917	33	45	293	931	33	45	293	931	33	45
39	ကွမ်းစောင်ကြေးနီ	Kwamsho ² <i>Krona-phru</i> <i>Kunzaw Gyangbyn</i>	363	1001	20	74	312	950	21	74	326	964	22	58	326	964	22	58
40	ကျန့်ဦး	Kyancuis <i>Kyizo</i>	383	1021	17	22	333	971	6	21	248	986	6	22	348	986	6	22
41	ရက္ခဝေ	Cukkate ³ <i>Sokkade</i>	400	1038	6	39	339	977	25	27	354	992	25	28	354	992	25	28
42	အနော်ရထာ	Ano ² ratha <i>Anawrata</i>	406	1044	33	30	364	1002	33	33	379	1017	42	33	379	1017	42	33
43	စောလူး	Colus ³ <i>Sawlu</i>	439	1077	7	28	397	1035	26	30	421	1059	5	30	421	1059	5	30
44	ကျန်စိသား	Kyancacsas ³ <i>Kyanyittha</i>	446	1084	27	54	423	1061	27	60	476	1064	29	33	426	1064	28	44
45	အလောင်းစည်သူ	Alon ² cañsū <i>Alaungstha</i>	473	1111	56	18	450	1088	70	15	455	1093	75	15	454	1092	75	26
46	နရသူ	Narasū <i>Narathu</i>	529	1167	3	50	520	1158	3	45	530	1168	3	52	529	1167	4	45
47	မင်းယဉ်နရသိန်	Mañ ³ -yañ ² -nara- sinka <i>Minyin Nara- theinkha</i>	532	1170	3	29	523	1161	3	32	533	1171	3	28	533	1171	3	32
48	နရပတိစည်သူ	Narapaticañsū <i>Narapatistha</i>	535	1173	37	26	526	1164	33	33	536	1174	37	37	536	1174	37	37
49	ဇေယျသိန်	Jeyvasinkha <i>Zeyyatheinkha</i>	572	1210	24	36	559	1197	12	20	573	1211	23	37	573	1211	23	37

Died in the 4th
year of Anawrata's
reign. [Hman-nan].Contemporary of
King Dhātusena of
Ceylon, and of Vi-
yabahu who sent an
embassy. [Hman-
nan].

II. Kings of Burma who reigned at Pagan.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	Jatābon Yazawin.				Maung Kala Yazawin.				Twinthīn Yazawin.				Hman-nan Yazawin.				REMARKS.	
		Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.						
		Sakka-raj.	A. D.			Sakka-raj.	A. D.			Sakka-raj.	A. D.			Sakka-raj.	A. D.				
50	ကျွာ Kyacwa Kvazra	...	596	1234	15	20	581	1219	15	20	596	1234	16	41	596	1234	16	41	
51	ဗျာ Ujana Uzana	...	611	1249	5	36	596	1234	6	33	612	1250	5	33	612	1250	5	33	
52	နရသိဟပတိ Narasihapatei Narathihapade	...	616	1254	33	16	602	1240	44	16	617	1255	31	16	617	1255	31†	16	†Hman-nan gives 35, which is a mistake for 31.
53	ကျွာ Kyacwa Kvazwa	...	649	1287	13	27	648*	1286	14	33	648	1286	12	28	648	1286	12	28	*There is an interregnum of 2 years before the accession of Kyawzwa. [Maung Kala].
54	ဇာနိ Conac Sawnit	...	662	1300	31	16	665*	1303	22	16	660	1298	32	20	660	1298	27	16	*Kyawzwa was deposed by three Shan brothers in 662 Sakkaraj; but Sawnit was made king only in 665. [Maung Kala].
55	ဇာနိ Ccmwannac Sawunnit	...	683	1331	37	15	687	1325	43	15	692	1330	38	21	687†	1325	43	15	†Hman-nan places the commencement of this reign in 689 Sakkaraj, but the date deduced from the length of the previous reign gives 687.

MAUNG HLA.

An Appeal for more light on Arakanese History.

BY J. STUART.

I should be very much obliged to any one who could refer me to any book treating of the above subject. In the account of Lord Amherst, in the "Rulers of India" series, I find the following passage. "The Burmese monarch of the day had sent an army through a defile of the mountain barrier, had conquered Arakan and extinguished the glories of that ancient kingdom. To make intelligible what would otherwise appear to be the preposterous claims advanced a quarter of a century later, it is necessary to remember that the authority of the Arakanese monarch, while it flourished, had extended as far as Dacca, so that a precedent could be cited for the pretensions of the Burmese lordship in Bengal." I confess that I had always considered the claims made by the Kings of the Alaungpaya dynasty to lordship over parts of India as absurd. So they were, of course, for when you have conquered the King of any country, you do not necessarily annex all his conquered provinces until you have conquered them also. Still, as the conquerors of Arakan, the claim of the Burmese monarchs had a show of reason. But, if Arakan in the eighteenth century had been a really flourishing and conquering kingdom, it is curious that it did not make a more energetic resistance to the invasion of its own country by the Burmese from the other side of the Yoma Hills. They seem to have made no resistance to speak of, but merely fled into British territory, thus putting the Anglo-Indian officials in an awkward dilemma. They had enough work on their hands over the stretch of country they already held, and had no wish to extend their responsibilities into Burma. On the one side they had the piteous plea of the fugitives: "We will never return to the Arakan country; if you choose to slaughter us here, we are willing to die; if you drive us away, we will go and dwell in the jungles of the great mountains." On the other hand the Burmese King was urging his claim thus: "If you keep in your country my slaves, the broad path of intercourse between the states will be blocked up."

The following extract from the book about Lord Amherst, relating to troubles which preceded the first Burmese War, may be interesting as throwing a fresh light on the events immediately preceding that war. "In the year 1811 the question had become a burning one, and for a time the rights and wrongs of the Mugs was a topic of interest to sentimental politicians even in England. This cacophonous name was given indiscriminately to all the Arakanese, though in strictness it applies only to one section of the population, said to be descended from Bengali mothers and Arakanese fathers. Amongst the suffering race appeared in 1811 one who for a time seemed destined to be the saviour of his country, Khyen-byan, whom the Anglo-Indians persisted in calling King-bering. was the son of the district officer who had betrayed Arakan to the Burmese

So unpopular was he on this account amongst his countrymen that their hatred followed the son to his exile in Chittagong. But he was soon to free himself from obloquy. Half brigand, half patriot, he collected a host with which he invaded Arakan, captured the chief town, and behaved with the usual licence of a Burmese victor. Again the Governor of Arakan held the English responsible, and again Calcutta statemanship professed its innocence..... The nationalist drama in which King-bering was the leading actor, had an ill ending. A Burmese army came and swept him and his followers back to Chittagong, from which harbour of refuge they resumed patriotic incursions. So, till 1815, the triangular warfare was maintained, poor King-bering and his men being hunted with equal zest by the Company's sepoy and the levies of the Viceroy of Arakan. Then the freebooter died, and his haunts knew him no more."

The remainder of the history of events on the Arakan border have often been described and it is needless to repeat them here. But it is, perhaps, not so generally recognised that it was not only in this part of the world that we were in contact with the territories claimed by the King of Burma. It would take too long to give the full history of his claims to Assam, but the following brief summary may help to some understanding of it. Assam had a very complicated constitution. Government was hereditary, not only in the person of the king, but also in that of the chief ministers, of whom there were three, the *barputra gohain*, the *bara gohain* and the *boora gohain*. In 1796 the *boora gohain* had acquired complete ascendancy and the Raja was a mere tool in his hands. In 1810 this Raja died and his brother, Chandra Kant, was raised to the throne by Permanand, the *boora gohain*. Chandra Kant, however, proved less docile than his predecessor, and encouraged a conspiracy against the *gohain*. The latter, however, discovered the plot; the Raja was obliged to disavow all participation in it, and the others were put to death with the most horrible cruelty. One official who had been in the plot managed to escape to Calcutta, where he applied on behalf of his master to the British Government. Meeting with but little encouragement there, he had recourse to the Burmese envoys there at the time, and returning with them to Ava, he got the help he wanted. Six thousand Burmans and eight thousand auxiliaries accompanied him to Assam, where the *boora gohain* died two days before their arrival. The Burmese were reimbursed their expenses, and dismissed with honour. The services of the individual who had secured Burmese help were unable to save him from court intrigues, and Chandra Kant put him treacherously to death, on which his friends and kindred fled to Burma. The Burmese promptly sent an army to Assam. This force entered the country early in 1818, and were opposed at Najeera with some spirit; but a panic seizing the Assamese Commander, he fell back to Jorhath. Upon the advance of the Burmese force, to Gohati, Purandhar Singh and the *boora gohain* took refuge in British territory. Their surrender was demanded by Chandra Kant. It was not long, however, before Chandra Kant himself fell out with the Bur-

mese, his brother-in-law having been put to death by order of the Burmese general. He fled to Gohati and steadily refused to trust himself again in the power of the Burmese Commander. In resentment at his mistrust, a number of Assamese were put to death. Chandra Kant retaliated on the Burmese officers who had been sent to persuade him to return. The Burmese general sent a force against him which compelled him to evacuate Gohati, and retreat to the British frontier. There, however, he turned the tables on the Burmese and compelled them to retreat in their turn. Being joined by a number of Assamese, he again established authority over the western part of Assam, as far as the vicinity of Jorhath. This was about the latter end of the year 1821. In the beginning of the following year Burmese reinforcements, under the capable leadership of Bundula, arrived in Assam, and Chandra Kant had to fly again. He did not enter British territory, but Bundula, thinking he would do so, sent blustering threats of forcibly taking him out of British territory, should he be there. This threat was not taken very seriously by the British Government, but the force on the frontier was strengthened in case of accidents. The pretence of maintaining the lawful prince on the throne of Assam was soon abandoned by the Burmese, and an official of their own nation was put in charge of Assam as a conquered province. To the East India Company this meant that a powerful and ambitious neighbour had been substituted for a feeble and distracted state.

Being thus threatened from a new quarter, the Indian Government had to reconsider its own position. Some time before, they had been asked to take Kachar under their protection, and had been considering the reasons for and against doing so. They now decided that the balance of advantage lay on the side of protection. By this arrangement they were able to occupy the principal passes into the low lands of Sylhet, and thus effectively oppose the advances of Burmese troops from the district of Manipur, which they had occupied some time before. In the beginning of the eighteenth century Manipur had engaged in successful hostilities with Burma, but Alaungpaya avenged this by invading and devastating Manipur. In his distress the Raja of Manipur had recourse to Bengal, and in 1762 a treaty of alliance was concluded between him and Mr. Verelst, and six companies of sepoys were sent to his assistance. The advance of the division was retarded by heavy rains, causing so much sickness that it was recalled long before it had traversed Kachar. The last Raja, Jay Sing, died about 1799, leaving several sons, with the usual result of a scramble for the throne. Eventually the country was annexed to Burma. It is impossible in a short article to give a full account of all the points on which the East India Company's dominions and those of the king of Burma touched each other, but the foregoing brief extracts from the accounts of these side contacts will serve to show that it was not only on the Arakan coast that India was in contact with the King of Burma. The East India Company was most anxious to avoid a collision, but it was inevitable.

It would be most interesting if some Arakanese or Burmese scholar could ferret out some real history of Arakan, previous to the 15th century and after. We know practically nothing about it, apparently, during all the centuries preceding the fifteenth. Later it springs into notice as a conquering power, but, before the end of the eighteenth century, we find it conquered, almost without a struggle apparently, by the Burmese from the other side of the hills. In spite of community of race, of creed, of blood and of language, we find the people fleeing into British territory rather than submit to conquerors of their own race and creed. Moreover, when a few years later the Government of India had been compelled to wage war on Burma and to annex Arakan, that country was almost depopulated, and seemed so little worth having that it was seriously deliberated by the authorities in India whether the annexed provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim were worth retaining, and it was suggested that they should be handed back to Burma. Fortunately this was not done, and in a very few years it was apparent that, so far from being worthless, they needed only rational rule to become very rich. At the time of the annexation in 1826, Moulmein consisted of a few fishermen's huts only. Within a quarter of a century, that is in 1850, the value of the imports and exports at Moulmein amounted to nearly £600,000. The revenue of the province of Tenasserim was originally next to nothing, but by 1848—49 it had risen to £55,000. In Arakan the progress was still more remarkable. In 1828, that is two years after the annexation, the population was estimated at about 100,000. By the first of January 1850 it had risen to 344,914, of whom only 200 were Europeans. The revenue in 1850—51 amounted to £88,000, and more than covered expenses. The trade of Akyab was, in the same year, of the value of £360,000, of which £153,123 was the value of the rice exported. In the present day these results have, of course, been far surpassed, but at the time they seemed very remarkable, in the case of two provinces which it had seriously been proposed to abandon as not worth keeping. All this, however, is merely the natural consequence of rational rule instead of that depending on the whims of an autocratic king, who is generally quite ignorant of economic law, and consequently often does harm, even in the exceptional cases in which he thinks more of the welfare of his subjects than of his own aggrandisement. That, however, is quite beside the present issue. My main object in writing this has been to induce some competent Arakanese or Burmese scholar to try and elucidate the tangle of Arakanese history, and explain how it fell from a conquering power in the middle of the eighteenth century to the sorry plight in which we find it in the early nineteenth century.

J. STUART.

MY RAMBLES

among the ruins of the Golden City of Myauk-U.

BY SAN BAW U.

CHAPTER IV.

Persons who are devoid of powers of imagination cannot aspire to become historians. The Arakanese chroniclers who were not devoid of such powers relate three legends in connection with the origin of the city of Myauk-U. They are given below :—

Cūla Taing Sandrā was the last of the nine Sandrā monarchs of Vesali or Wethali dynasty who were the accredited owners of the magical flying Arindama* spear. He died in the year 319 B. E. (957 A.D.), having been caught in a cyclone and drowned near Cape Negarit (Negrais) on his return voyage from the country of Thin-twe : or to express it in the language of poets 'the Naga-King of the deep carried him away to his country, to be wedded to his daughter, who had fallen frantically in love with him'. With his death the influence of sovereign power waned in Arakan, and the event emboldened his natural enemies, the Pyus and the Shans. In the year 325 B. E. (964 A. D.) the King of Tharekhetrā, the hermit country (the present Prome), with his army of 90,000 Pyus invaded Arakan, followed later by another army of 900,000 Shans. The last Sandrā king left no issue but an unborn child. To get a successor to the throne, therefore, was a difficult problem.

The story goes that the king was at one time stricken with a malady called Ugrwet-nā, headache of an extremely severe form. The best physicians were of no avail. One Dhamma Vezeya, better known as Tamma-zaik-amat, his prime minister, a man skilled in the eighteen sciences, was consulted and said "May it please your Majesty, my life belongs to you. At your Majesty's will and pleasure I live or die. If this my one prayer is granted, I shall find out the root-cause of your Majesty's malady, and make it known to you. Let a cage of seven steel frames be provided, and from its innermost chamber the solution shall be made known." The King replied: "Be it so". The steel cage was provided, and from this place of security the prime minister announced, that in the last incarnation of the King he took the form of a pet dog of a very poor woman living in the outskirts of the city of Thin-twe (the present Tagaung). The dog was so attached to her that wherever she went, it used to follow her. Seeing the attachment the neighbours jeered at her; and in a moment of rage she hit the dog with a stick and killed it. The dog was buried at a suitable place; and later a banyan tree sprang up, entangling in its roots the dog's skull, and whenever its branches swayed from side to side in wind or storm the malady started to trouble the King. The only way to cure the illness was to remove the dog's

* See note at the end of the chapter.

skull from the fork of the tree's root. After giving an attentive hearing to the minister, the King decided to embark upon his journey to the country of Thin-twe. The journey was long and attended with many dangers. So before his departure the King left his last will entrusting his ring, called *Nawarat-letswet*, possessed of hidden powers, with his chief queen Mibayā Sanda Dewi, instructing her that whosoever could wear it or fit it onto his finger, the Crown should be given him. A proclamation therefore was made throughout the land calling candidates to try their luck. On the appointed day an immense crowd collected in front of the Palace, and every one tried to wear the ring, without success. Then Amra-too a *Mro* Chief tried it, next his brother Amra-goo, then Pepyu (son of Amra-goo) and then Dhamma Vezeya, the prime minister. They all succeeded in wearing it and were declared eligible candidates to the Crown. The kingdom was first offered to the prime minister, who declined the offer on the ground that he already had fallen into disfavour with the Chief Queen, who alleged that he was instrumental in bringing about the death of her husband. Of the three *Mros*, Amra-too being senior to the other two, the crown fell to him; and he with the Chief Queen therefore ascended the throne of Vesali. Amra-goo became the crown prince.

Now, sometime later, Amra-goo was discovered having secret relations with the Chief Queen, and this reached the ears of the King, who, enraged at his brother's behaviour, resolved to get rid of him. So, one day, the King pretended to have dreamt a dream the night previous. The dream said "You have become the ruler of so great a kingdom that your kingly pleasures have made you forget the duties of your family Nat-worship. Dire consequences will overtake you, if the family-Nat is still ignored." Feigning alarm at the dream, the King decided to perform the ceremony; a day was appointed and the King ordered Amra-goo to accompany him to the forest. A white buffalo and a bull were taken for sacrifice; also a pair of horns, which Amra-goo was made to carry and march in front of the King. The King, arming himself with a bow and poisoned arrows, called *Mhyā-lyet*, they both set out on their journey. Darkness set in and they still trudged along. Just before dawn broke, when they reached a certain creek, the King, bending his bow, took out a poisoned arrow from his waist, aimed and shot it. Amra-goo fell and rolled on the ground and died soon after. By the side of his brother's corpse the King waited for the dawn. When dawn broke, the King himself carried the body of his brother to another place, where it was concealed. The place where Amra-goo fell came to be called *Mhyā-lyet-chaung*, later *Nga-lyet-chaung*, and lastly was corrupted into *Nga-yet-chaung* which still is found to this day between Myohaung and Wethali. The place where the King hid Amra-goo's body came to be known as *What-pôn*, which was later corrupted into *Wetpok*, where recently a hamlet stood, but only the site now remains marked with a few pagodas and village-tanks opposite the village of Htanma-raik. The King returned to the palace and explained that he accidentally killed his brother. Feigning to grieve over the misfortune, the King beat his

breast and forehead and cried bitterly, and the sad incident was finally closed. Pepyu then succeeded his father and became crown prince.

When the Pyu troops invaded Arakan, they encamped at Myauk-U, and the King sent out Pepyu to expel them. To overcome his foe Pepyu adopted a stratagem. He approached the Pyu King and telling him the circumstances under which his father met his fate at the hands of Amra-too, expressed a desire to avenge his death. The Pyu king, thinking that he had found an ally, took him over to his side. Pepyu, having now won the confidence of the Pyus, standing on the right bank of Einda-nadi river invoked the aid of the surrounding Nats, saying: "If I am endowed with the power and glory of a prince, may this place become filled with the gloom of darkness for a week, and a boat containing arms be delivered to me." In response to his vow the whole place suddenly became enveloped in darkness; and, hark! the distant sound of a boat rowing was heard. He listened. It drew nearer until a large boat manned by thirty rowers was in full view. Then, as though by magic, the boatmen disappeared leaving the boat afloat on the river. Pepyu, overjoyed at the sight, boarded the boat, took over the arms and concealed them. He then ferried the Pyu troops across the river to Wathe side of the city, where they were massacred. Every boat-load of the soldiers was put to the sword directly they landed, and their heads cut off by the men he had kept concealed. Of the 90,000 Pyus, 80,000 were thus put to death. When the rest of the army saw from the top of a neighbouring hill the fate that befel their comrades, they were seized with fear and took to their heels. Pepyu, having accomplished his task, returned to the palace only to find the King dead; and the ministers, the nobles and the entire populace, welcoming him with open arms, with one voice proclaimed him King.

With the Chief Queen Mibayā Sanda Dewi, Pepyu reigned in Wethali for one year. In accordance with the belief that the dynastic life of Wethali had come to an end, he removed his seat of Government to the place from where the Pyus were expelled by him. There, he founded a new city, which he named Mrauk-Oo and reigned there twelve more years. Next, in the year 338 B. E. (976 A. D.), a large army of Shans, numbering 900,000, invaded Arakan by Eingza-nadi (the present Lemro river), which was in those days a flourishing trade-route between China and Arakan. Pepyu, being overwhelmed by the Shan hosts, fled to Yochaung Thabeik-taung in Buthidaung subdivision; and there, with his whole Court, he resided permanently. The sole object of the Shan invaders was to plunder. They not only plundered people, but sacked the famous Mahamuni Pagoda on Theeri-gutta hill and carried away its riches which had accumulated there for centuries.

The above is one of the legends regarding the origin of the city of Mrauk-Oo as given in Mahā-Yāzawin. The meaning of the word Mrauk is "achievement," and Oo, first: that is, the place of Pepyu's first achievement. The same Yāzawin relates a much more ancient legend of its origin. After Buddha's Pari-nibbāna, now about 2,200 years ago,

when the great Asoka came over to Arakan on a pilgrimage to Mahāmuni, he landed at Bahula-taung hill (the present Baliboo-daung). At that time, on the Thiriwara hill, which was a sister hill to Bahula-taung on the north, there lived a monkey chief who ruled over a thousand monkeys, also a peacock chief who held away over a thousand peacocks. One day, the monkey chief fell ill and died, leaving his wife. It so happened that the wife of the peacock chief also died. In time the survivors came together and an intimacy grew up between them resulting in their union. The female monkey became pregnant and in due course brought forth two beautiful eggs—a rare phenomenon! Now the great Asoka's power was so extensive that his influence was felt even in the animal world. The peacock chief carried the eggs to the King and sought his advice. The King said that the eggs were begotten through his blood alone and that they should be hatched by him. The King also prophesied that a city would spring up at the place under the name of Myauk-U. The peacock chief therefore had a nest built on a tree at Wathe and had the eggs hatched, when lo! two beautiful Nat girls burst forth from them. The two parts of Myauk-U and Wathe were in those days presided over by two guardian Nats. They brought up these two Nat-girls and called them Ma Myauk-U and Ma Wathe. Later on, as though in fulfilment of Asoka's prophecy, a city sprang up at the place, which was named Myauk-U. The word Myauk means "monkey" and U, "egg"; that is to say, the egg or eggs of a monkey.

Another story, however, has it that when King Samon was laying the foundation of the city of Myauk-U, his town-planners found an egg in a nest from which a monkey jumped out on their approach, and the incident having caught the imagination of the King, the city was accordingly named Myauk-U. But one chronicle elsewhere explains that the city was named Mrauk-Oo, because it occupied the northern extremity of the older city of Laung-gyet. The word Mrauk means north, an Oo is edge or extremity. So that "Mrauk-Oo" means the northern extremity of a place or city. In accordance with the Law of Change the names of cities also change from time to time. During the time of Kakkusan Buddha the city of Myauk U was said to have been known by the name

*The Arindamā spear was a remarkable flying spear possessing supernatural powers. It was presented by Thagyāmin to Mahā Taing Sandrā, the first of the Sandrā monarchs. The word is the Pāli *Arindama* "foe vanquishing." The Mahā Yazawin describes it in the following words:—

"Handle of black amber: is 3 cubits long; head 8 ins. by 10 ins. It had the power of flying through space, as willed by the King who owned it. It could perform two kinds of aerial journey; one was, when a royal order or decree was to be sent to any vassal King; it was written on a *Parabaik*, which was then attached to the spear at a place between the handle and spearhead. The spear was then thrown into the air by the King himself. When it reached its destination, none could approach it but he to whom the decree was addressed. The addressee then picked it up and read the order. The other one was when the King sent the spear in anger to any of his rebellious vassal kings; it went directly to him and cut his head in twain."

The Sandrā Kings who successively owned it were:— Mahā Thuriya Sandrā, Thuriya Sandrā, Mawha Mai za Sandrā, Pawlaw Taing Sandrā, Kāla Taing Sandrā, Thula Sandrā, Theeri Taing Sandrā, Theetha Sandrā and Cula Taing Sandrā. Strangely enough, the spear disappeared altogether with the last Sandrā King. The next King who owned a similar adze was Datha razāh who reigned at the city of Parein from the year 515-527 B.E. He was the 10th King who owned the Arindamā spear, and hence his name "Datha-razāh".

Ramma-pura, during Gonagôn Buddha's time *Ramma-lhuwanna-pura*, during Kassapa's time *Rakkha-pura* (*Rakkha* means "Beloo" or "ogre," and *pura*, "city"). During that time the place was a howling wilderness inhabited only by *Beloos* or ogres. Lastly it has come to be known as Myauk-U or Mrauk-Oo in the time of Godama Buddha.

CHAPTER V.

Myohaung is the only hill-resort in Arakan for pilgrims and sight-seers, who need a change from their humdrum daily life to a new world full of ancient associations. It is interesting in many ways. To avoid disappointment visitors must specially note that the best time to visit the place is from the month of December to April. This is the time when the people of the locality clear the thick growth of scrub-jungles caused by heavy rain. On the day of his arrival the visitor feels that he has come face to face with nature. In the day time the sweet songs of birds, the creaking of monkeys: in the night, the howling of jackals, and the distant barking of deer, sometimes punctuated by the growling of tigers, ring in his ears, as he turns from side to side on his strange bed. The next morning finds him accompanying a party of pilgrims consisting of a few men, women and girls, armed with paper flags of different hues and packets of candles bought at a road-side bazaar-stall, meant for dedication at the shrines of Buddha. The party first witnesses a Nat-dance at the shrine of the goddess of Myauk-U by the road-side. It is a relic of the past, and has been made into an annual ceremony by the local people, who want protection from the goddess against plague and other diseases. Then having taken leave of the nat-dance, the party crosses Einda-Nadi over a second bridge and reaches Wathe, which was in days gone by the scene of life and bustle and the residence of the noted son of a wealthy *Zayat-taga* (rest-house builder). He was Tun Aung Gyaw, the lover of Ma Mo Ban We, the beauty of the oil-manufacturing Kyauk-raik-ke village. In fact, they are the hero and heroine of a well-known Arakanese poetic song entitled *Mohbanwe*. A few more minutes brings the party to Zina Manaung Pagoda on the top of a hill about 100 feet high, built by King Sanda Thudama Raza in the year 1028 B. E. (1666 A. D.) The pagoda made of stones is of modern type, 150 feet high, with a *hti* on it said to have been put up by Maung San Byaw, the last Burmese Myowun of Arakan. Double-bodied *poo* figures guard the pagoda at its base. Attached to its eastern side is a fronton marked on its roof by five receding semi-circular tiers, each slightly higher than the last, until the top one reaches the main structure. The arched entrance, leading by a narrow passage to a huge image of Buddha seated on a *palin* or throne, is beautifully sculptured. Here the party, respectfully inserting the paper flags into the few vases kept in front of the image, lights the candles in a row, and seated in an attitude of prayer, takes refuge in the Three Gems in solemn murmuring tone.

From this hill a glance eastward reveals in the valley below many noted and interesting places. At a league's distance is a stone *pay*ⁿ

seated upon an exquisitely sculptured *palin* within an oblong stone building or *pa-hto*. It is fenced by partly ruined double stone-walls forming a quadrangle, said to have been built by King Min Khamaung about the year 983 B. E. (1621 A. D.). The title of this King was Waradama Rāzā (Uson Shah, the title assumed by him as Lord of his Mahommedan subjects), as is apparent on the silver coins struck by him. He is popularly known as Min Khamaung, after the event of his birth under a Khamaung-tree (*pyinma*) at Khamaung-seik, when his grandfather, Min Palaung, and his Queen in their golden Paungdaw, were touring on Aingza Nadi river. Be it noted that he was the King who dealt the final blow to the Portuguese ambition for territory by successfully repelling their second invasion of Arakan, in a naval battle fought on Gacchapa Nadi in the year 977 B. E. (1615 A. D.) At some distance, on a raised platform, sits a lonely uncovered stone image of Buddha unlike the ordinary types found elsewhere in Arakan. It is said to have been built by a sect of Buddhism called "Ton-gaing". The symmetrical folds round the entire body and the waist band below the chest are its distinctive features. It is therefore a fit subject for study by the students of religions and of archaeology. It is locally known as Kya-Khraik Paya. A few hundred yards away to the north-east a brick pagoda without a *hti* frowns from the top of Shwedaung hill, 300 feet high, which was made use of by Pepyu in concealing tons of gold of which he despoiled the Pyu troops. The several flights of broad stone and brick stairways leading up to the pagoda testify the great labour and expense bestowed on it by its builder and the pilgrims who visit it. At the base of this hill on the north, at the corner of the valley, is a stone image of Buddha about 12 feet high, seated majestically on a large artistically sculptured stone *palin* inside a *pahto*, or square stone building, within a quadrangular double stone-wall now in ruins. It was built in the 16th century by King Min Bah, at whose instance a thousand Bhikkus were here ordained. It is however not beyond repair. Outside, a collection of beautifully sculptured large lumps of stone, the remains of a *palin* on which is still to be seen relics of indigenous art, lie in a heap—evidently the result of vandalism caused by treasure-hunters.

On the right towers the Lethā-daung, a range of hills on which stones and brick-work defences constructed by the Kings of Arakan, but now in ruins, are still to be met with. This is the place where the last struggle for supremacy took place in Arakan between the British and the Burmese. The British, who were accompanied by Mr. Robertson, supported by Indian and Arakanese troops, were the attackers. The first assault launched at the city-gate of Kwanze Paungwa, failed owing to the narrowness of the stone archway, which was stoutly defended by Burmese seasoned troops. The casualties on the British side were found to be 300 in killed alone, and the Commanding Officer had to order a temporary retirement. In a council of war held later, including some 20 Arakanese elders who possessed a thorough knowledge of the local conditions, it was decided that the Burmese should be taken in the rear at Lethā-daung hill. The

local story has it that Mra Thwin, the goddess of Parein, secretly fell in love with Mr. Robertson who apparently was a handsome young man. Some one dreamt the previous night that the reason why the attack did not succeed, was that Mra Thwin, on whom the fortune of the war entirely depended, was ignored :—မင်းတုတ်တွင်၊ ပရိသတ်၊ မြို့တွင်၊ မိသားစု၊ နှင့် မိသားစု၊ အသေခံရသော၊ ဘုရားရှိခိုးနှင့်—so runs the rhyme. Some one advised that if a formal marriage between her and Mr. Robertson was solemnised, victory would be assured. On hearing the suggestion Mr. Robertson at once agreed, and the next day a wedding ceremony was publicly held between him and Miss Mra Thwin. The second attack was then successfully launched at Lethā-daung hill. The only other city gate leading to the town was being blocked by the Burmese with earth at Mradaung. It still stands to this day, and one still finds parts of a large cannon apparently abandoned by the defenders. The attacking troops then scaling the heights of Lethā-daung in ever increasing numbers, carried the place by storm, though at heavy cost, and put the Burmese to flight.

Lethā-daung is not only important for this, but also the scene of an old world tale. One day, in the 16th century, while King Min Bah with his prime minister Mahā-Pyīñña-gyaw was supervising the construction of the defence-works on the hill from its summit, they happened to see vast crowds of people wending their way from the direction of Parein and Mahā-hti. The King openly expressed his anxiety to his prime minister, who, endowed with a mine of intelligence, had a ready answer. He said that he saw only $1\frac{1}{2}$ men in the whole realm; that is, the King was equal to one man, and he to the other half. The rest were earthworms and ants. So the King's mind was eased.

SAN BAW U.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

By G. E. HARVEY.

Paras 1—6, Abstract of the English Divisional Report.

Brigadier-General T. W. Morrison, C. B. led into Arakan the South-Eastern Division accompanied by a flotilla under Commodore Hayes. The total force amounted to 9,913 effectives of whom some 7,000 were sepoys.

2. On 23rd March 1825 the flotilla attacked stockades at Kheong Peela, *alias* Chamballa, half way up the river to Mrohaung. The channel was barely a musket range across; hidden stockades, communicating with each other and commanded by five golden umbrella chiefs under the victor of Ramu, opened a heavy fire from several cannon and numerous jingals, and the flotilla withdrew having lost 4 killed and 31 wounded. Four vessels went aground till nearly dawn next day but were not molested as the Burmese had suffered severely.

3. On the 26th the land forces closed in on Mrohaung. The fighting was across creeks with steep banks covered with sharp stakes and crowned with deep entrenchments. After taking these, the troops found themselves in a bare plain facing a range of hills 350-400 feet high; these hills were well-fortified, masonry being used in places. Only one pass through them led to the capital, and it was held by three thousand musketmen with some artillery, while the total strength of the defenders along the crest was some nine thousand men.

4. On the 29th a daybreak assault on the pass reached the crest, but the ascent was steep, in places perpendicular, and only a few men got their hands on the trench; they were under a brisk fire, large stones were rolled on them, small ones were discharged from bows, and they were hurled back to the bottom. The attack was called off at 1 p.m., with a loss of 51 killed and 136 wounded.

5. It was then established that the key of the Burmese position was their right. Here the height was greatest and it was crowned with a stockade, but the garrison were few, as the Burmese trusted to the precipitous ascent. On the 31st the British artillery played on the pass but while the Burmese crowded there the assault moved off after dark to the right and by 11-30 p.m. was in possession of the stockade without losing a man killed.

6. Having gained the right, the English proceeded to send up two 6 pounder guns on elephants; owing to the difficult ground it was nearly 7 a.m. on 1st April before one was mounted, but its fire quickly silenced a Burmese 6-pounder on the next height. The attack then moved forward

from the captured stockade, while the main body down in the plain advanced against the pass. There were no casualties as the Burmese did not wait, and thus Arakan was gained. Pursuit failed to intercept the flight of the Burmese to Ava, but they never reassembled; cavalry could not find any collected number, with the solitary exception of 300 men who were overtaken in a plain and all accounted for as killed, prisoners, or drowned in attempting to cross a stream.

Paras 7—14, Comment.

7. This campaign presents two differences from the others in the First Anglo-Burmese War. Firstly, the invaders were as numerous as the defenders, whereas in the main theatre, the Irrawaddy Delta, the defenders were greatly superior, sometimes outnumbering the invader's effectives by sixteen to one. Secondly, the defence lacked determination.

8. Burmese troops could seldom be brought to face the bayonet a second time but almost invariably fought well the first time. There had been no previous fighting in Arakan, and their failure to await the last rush on this occasion is surprising. Allowances must be made for such possibilities as panic, and for dismay at the loss of their right which had seemed impregnable. But the real cause for their breaking was probably a consciousness that the country was against them. Mr. San Baw U's article mentions them as being seasoned troops; the Burmese garrison at Mrohaung, first stationed in 1785, had never exceeded a few thousand; probably therefore the three thousand musketeers of the Divisional Report were the Burmese garrison and the remaining six thousand were local levies, e. g. largely Arakanese, and therefore a source of weakness as even those who were submissive enough to be pressed into a levy had no love for the Burmese.

9. No fewer than 50,000 Arakanese had fled into English territory to escape Burmese oppression, and Arakanese sympathy lay, if anywhere, with the invader; the regimental returns show that a Mug Levy Rifle Company of 553 men served with the invader.

10. Mr. San Baw U's article does not give the calibre of the large cannon still to be seen in the defenders' position. The Divisional Report shows that they left behind 29 iron and 12 brass guns, 10 jingals, 82 muskets, 385 loose shot, 280 lb. powder. The largest gun was a 7-pounder. Of the iron guns one, marked 1785, was serviceable, the rest were worthless.

11. The invader's total casualties throughout the campaign were *flotilla* 4 killed, 31 wounded; *land forces* 32 killed, 212 wounded. Of these latter no fewer than 31 killed, and 135 wounded were incurred in the abortive attack on the pass; the statement in Mr. San Baw U's article that in this attack the invader lost 300 in killed alone is not borne out by the regimental returns, but in Burmese accounts, even when they are contemporary, the variation of a decimal place or two is almost a convention.

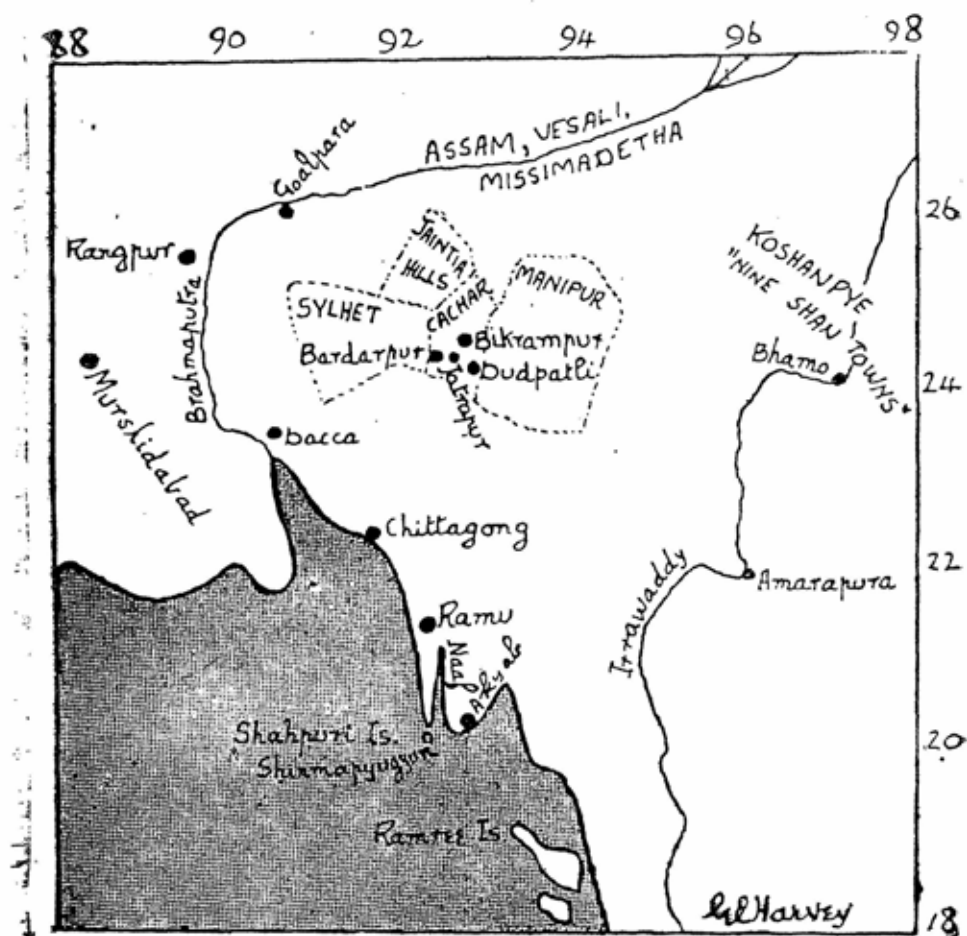
12. The Robertson mentioned in Mr. San Baw U's article was T. C. Robertson, Magistrate of Chittagong, who accompanied the forces as Political Agent. His fairy marriage is not mentioned in the files but is so firmly believed in that it must assuredly have taken place, if not in reality, at least in the imagination of some local Bill Adams.

13. Sandwip island (p. 104) was a trade centre commanding the mouths of the Ganges Delta, and its neighbourhood provided timber in abundance for shipbuilding. In 1609 some Portuguese pirates drove out the Afghan pirates who held it, made it a formidable stronghold, and repeatedly attacked Arakan until Minhkamaung (Husein Shah) drove them off with the help of Dutch ships and in 1617 occupied Sandwip. The Portuguese there were transported to Chittagong and served the king of Arakan, combining with his men as sea-wolves whose slave-raids were the terror of Lower Bengal for many generations. The Portuguese Government however continued to be formidable in the East until the Dutch expelled them from Malacca in 1641.

14. King Min Bah's anxiety at seeing so many people (p. 105) was due to the fear that a numerous population might prove rebellious. The tabu against taking a census is common among primitive races, a well known instance being *Exodus xxx 12*, *II Samuel xxix 10*, *I Chronicles xxi 1*; but the reason is usually different, see Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament* (1919) II 555.

G. E. HARVEY.

MAP TO "BURMESE & ENGLISH DESPATCHES."



BURMESE AND ENGLISH DESPATCHES

ON THE EVE OF

THE FIRST ANGLO-BURMESE WAR 1824-6.

Extracted from the India Office records

by

G. E. HARVEY.

[Read before the University College Historical Association, Rangoon, 14 September 1923, being the first paper read before the Association after its foundation.]

[In 1666 the Moghuls finally ejected the Arakanese from Chittagong. In 1760 the Moghuls ceded it to the English. Its southernmost boundary lay along the Naaf estuary, to the east of which lay Arakan. In 1785 the Burmese annexed Arakan but admitted English possession beyond the Naaf by repeatedly asking the magistrate of Chittagong to extradite Arakanese fugitives; in 1818 however they changed their tone.]

Letter from the Rajah of Ramree, to the Governor General. Received 8 June 1818.

I, Nameo Sura, Governor of (Yamawoody) Ramree, placing my head under the royal feet, resembling the golden lilly, and bowing to the commands of the most illustrious sovereign of the universe, king of great and exalted virtue, lord of white elephants, called Saddan, strict observer of the divine laws, who fulfils the ten precepts, and performs all the good works commanded by the former virtuous kings, who assists and protects all living beings, whether near or remote, and possesses miraculous and invincible arms, &c. &c. address and inform the Governor General of Bengal, that our mighty monarch is distinguished throughout the vast world, for his unexampled piety and justice. He has a hundred sons, a thousand grand-sons, and one great grand son, whom he nourishes in his own arms, and who is inexpressibly esteemed and beloved, as a rarity of as great a magnitude as the white elephant is superior to ten other various species of rare elephants; the acquisition of this royal infant, is considered as an offering made to the king, by the angel of heaven himself. The power, good luck, and inestimable reputation of our great sovereign, is universally known and he is duly recognised by all sovereign kings. Those who come to him for the purpose of paying due homage and respect, are invariably taught the principles of religion, and the system of good government. Our master, in fact, protects all living beings.

From Keopugan Lengen Peyagee, and the nine cities of Shyan, situated to the eastward, king Woody [Utibwa = Emperor of China], sent three of his esteemed daughters, as offerings to the golden soles of the royal feet of our gracious sovereign, and thereby established a happy friendship between the two kingdoms, which intercourse has been attended with incalculable advantages.

Megema-daysa, King of Assam, (Wezaley) presented His Majesty with his beloved daughter, and signified subjection to the authority of our sovereign.

The Maharajah of Naga-sheindatain, in Munnepoora, promised to resign his throne to his brother Soorbayrajah, after a lapse of three years. The Maharajah not fulfilling his engagement, and otherwise having ill used his brother, he proceeded to the capital, and represented this breach of promise, and remonstrated against the injustice by placing his head under the golden soles of the royal feet of our sovereign, who issued orders to the superior authorities of the neighbouring city situated to the westward of Nagasheindatain, to send an army, under skilful generals, for the express purpose of placing Soorbayrajah on the throne, he having undergone the Royal Ceremonies, and being vested with the title of Maha-shein-rajah. In consideration of the great distinction and favor thus conferred on him, he likewise presented His Majesty with his esteemed daughter, and also signified himself a subject of the authority of our monarch.

Amatpooya Kounhay, minister of Checkadaya, King of (Megema-daysa,) Assam, having disturbed the peace of the country, and acted insubordinately, by not recognizing the authority of the King, his brother, or his son, the two latter proceeded to Umerapoora, and placed their heads under the royal feet, and represented the circumstance to our sovereign who has graciously pleased to order that Bamo Meowoon, Mo-goun Meowoon, and Moing Meowoon, be despatched with forces, elephants, and horses to secure the throne to the real sovereign. In pursuance of the royal commands, they proceeded to the spot, and having ascertained the merits of the claim, settled the difference in a satisfactory and peaceable manner.

In Kameo, the laws of good government not being strictly observed, discontent and mutiny incessantly prevailed. This being also represented to our sovereign, an army was sent to storm the city, which was captured, but no property was suffered to be plundered. Upon investigation, Chandu-ganda-shein proved to be the real sovereign, and entitled by blood to the inheritance. He was accordingly placed on the throne with all the dignities consistent with his rank.

Those who do not minutely and scrupulously observe the laws of good government, and exercise oppression and injustice, incur the marked displeasure of our sovereign; who, in similar cases, invariably sends armies, under generals, to capture their provinces, but not to plunder them, and subsequently restore them to the monarch entitled to its inheritance.

Our sovereign is an admirer of justice, and a strict observer of the laws and usages, as they existed in ancient times, and strongly disapproves everything unjust and unreasonable. Ramoo, Chittagong, Moorshedabad, and Dacca are countries which do not belong to the English, they are provinces, distant from the Arracanese capital, but were originally subject to the government of Arracan, and now belong to our sovereign. Neither the English Company nor their nation observe the ancient laws strictly, they ought not to have levied revenues, tributes, &c. from these provinces, nor have disposed of such funds at their discretion. The Governor-General, representing the English Company, should surrender these dominions, and pay the collections realized therefrom to our sovereign. If this is refused, I shall represent it to His Majesty. Generals with powerful forces will be dispatched, both by sea and land, and I shall myself come for the purpose of storming, capturing, and destroying the whole of the English possessions, which I shall afterwards offer to my sovereign; but I send this letter, in the first place, to make the demand from the Governor-General.

From the Governor General of India to His Excellency the Viceroy of Pegu, &c. &c. &c.; dated 22 June 1818.

A letter having been addressed to me by the Rajah of Ramree, containing a demand for the cession of certain provinces belonging to the British Government, I deem it incumbent on me, in consideration of the friendship subsisting between His Burmese Majesty & the British Government, to transmit to you a copy of that extraordinary document.

If that letter be written by order of the King of Ava, I must lament that persons utterly incompetent to form a just notion of the state of the British power in India, have ventured to practise on the judgment of so dignified a sovereign. Any hopes those individuals may have held out to His Majesty, that the British Government would be embarrassed by contests in other quarters, are altogether vain, & this Government must be indifferent to attack, further than as it would regard with concern the waste of lives in an unmeaning quarrel.

My respect for His Majesty, however, induces me rather to adopt the belief, that the Rajah of Ramree has for some unworthy purpose of his own, assumed the tone of insolence & menace exhibited in his letter without authority from the King, & that a procedure so calculated to produce dissension between two friendly states, will experience His Majesty's just displeasure.

If I could suppose that letter to have been dictated by the King of Ava, the British Government would be justified in considering war as already declared, & in, consequently, destroying the trade of His Majesty's empire. Even in this supposition, however, the British government would have no disposition to take up the matter captiously, but, trusting that the wisdom of the King of Ava would enable him to see the folly of the counsellors who would plunge him into a calamitous war, & that His

Majesty would thence refrain from entailing ruin on the commerce of his dominions, the British Government would forbear (unless forced by actual hostilities) from any procedure which can interrupt those existing relations so beneficial to both countries.

[Nothing further happened, because the king at last heard of the defeat of the Mahratta Confederacy who were to have co-operated with him against the English—he was usually a year too late. He never disavowed the letter of the Raja of Ramree i. e. the Burmese garrison commander in Arakan, but his officers persistently crossed the Chittagong frontier & kidnapped the East India Company's elephants hunters in the jungles, releasing them on payment, and the Burmese outposts on the east side of the Naaf estuary fired on native British subjects as they went about their daily business in boats: The people were terrified and, to soothe them, the magistrate of Chittagong in February 1823 stationed a police outpost on Shahpuri Island (Shinmapyugyun) on his side of the estuary.]

Letter delivered by Dayen-ya-geo, Vakeel from the Rajah of Arracan, on 8 August 1823.

Maha Mengee Keojoa, Governor General of Arakan, and the Western Frontier of the Burmese Empire. &c. &c. &c., to the Governor General of Calcutta, in Bengal.

Our Sovereign is extremely fortunate, he reigns over the great kingdom, by inheritance from his grand-father since his ascension to paradise. He is replete with religious principles, a strict observer of the ten commandments, and of the twenty-eight acts of virtue; to him has descended the throne of his grand-father, which he now feels.

There is a certain island known by the name of Shein-mabu, where a stockade has been erected, and a guard of native seapoys stationed: in order to their being removed, I forwarded a letter on the subject to the Governor of Chittagong by the hands of General Mounghdoh, who brought an answer written on a sheet of paper in English, Arracanese, Persian, and Hindoo characters, declaring the said island of Shein-mabu to belong to the English. I ask, therefore, if this communication is to be considered as an authorised one on the part of the Governor General, if it be so, I assert, that the island of Shein-mabu does not appertain to the Bengal government: from the time Arracan was subject to the original Arracanese ruler, and since it came to the golden possession, the island was always annexed to the Denhawoody (Arracanese) territories, and still belongs to our sovereign. The guard now stationed at that place, may be the occasion of disputes among the lower order of the people, and of obstruction to the poor merchants and traders now carrying on commerce in the two great countries, and eventually cause a rupture of the friendship and harmony subsisting between the two mighty

states. To prevent such occurrences, it is requested, that the guard now stationed at Shein-mabu, may be removed.

From the Governor General to the Rajah of Arracan, &c. &c.

15 August 1823.

I have received your letter brought by Dayen Yageo, regarding the island of Shapuree, which you term Shein-mabu.

The communication addressed to you by the magistrate of Chittagong, on the subject of that island, was entirely in conformity with the views and sentiments of the supreme government.

The island of Shapuree has always appertained to the British territory of Chittagong, and is the undoubted right of the Honourable Company. It lies on the British side of the main channel of the Naf river, which is the admitted boundary between the two states in that quarter, and is in fact, obviously a continuation of the *Tek*, or point of the main land of the district of Chittagong, from which it is separated only by a narrow and shallow channel. The occupation of Shapuree by the British government for a length of years, is also proved by the records of the Chittagong collectorship, which shew that it has invariably been comprehended in the revenue settlements.

Under these circumstances, with every disposition to receive your communication in the most friendly spirit, and after giving to the claim which you have advanced on this occasion, all proper consideration, I must declare my conviction, that the Burmese government has not a shadow of right to possession of the island of Shapuree.

With respect to what you have written of your apprehensions, lest the guard now stationed at Shapuree, may be the occasion of disputes among the lower order of people, and of obstruction to the poor merchants and traders, rest assured, that they are wholly without foundation. The proximity of British troops is a cause of protection, and not of injury to all who are peaceably and well disposed, and in the present instance, I feel persuaded, that the maintenance of the post will inspire confidence and encourage the resort of traders.

As to the possibility of a rupture eventually occurring between the two great states, from the Government maintaining a small party of troops on an island undoubtedly its own, you must have written this passage incautiously and without one reflection.

It does not appear from the contents of your letter, that your present communication has been made with the knowledge or authority of your royal master, the King of Ava. The respect which I entertain for His Majesty's wisdom and discernment impresses me with a full conviction that, on learning particulars, he will not fail to recognise the justice of the title by which the British government holds, and will continue to hold, the island of Shapuree.

I regret that the first communication which has passed between us since your arrival in India, should bear any appearance of a difference of sentiment between the principal authorities of two friendly states; but I trust, that the arguments and explanation contained in this letter, will

have the effect of terminating the pending discussion. Should they fail to produce conviction on your mind, it will afford me much satisfaction to depute an officer of rank, from Chittagong, in the ensuing cold season, to adjust finally all questions relating to boundary dispute on the S.E. frontier of that district, in concert with a properly qualified and duly empowered agent from Arracan.

I request you to accept the assurance of my high consideration and friendly regard, &c.

[The Burmese letter of 8 August 1823 was firm but not discourteous, and it contained no threat of hostilities. Yet the next thing that happened, without another word, was as follows.]

From the Magistrate of Chittagong, dated 28 September 1823.

The enclosed report from the Darogha of Tek Naf, will inform you of the Burmese having attacked and taken possession of the island of Shapuree—three sepoy have been killed, and three wounded, the rest have escaped to the Thana of Tek Naf. The action took place on the night of the 24th September. The Burmese were in force, about one thousand. I shall address you to-morrow, and give immediate notice to Lieutenant Colonel Shapland, C. B.

REPORT FROM THE DAROGHA AT TEK NAF, DATED 24TH SEPTEMBER.

This morning Ram Jeuren, Jemadar of the guard stationed at Shapuree, came to me and the Subedar of the guard at Tek Naf, & stated that at midnight whilst the sipahees were under arms at their post, the Burmahs, in number about one thousand, surrounded the Shapuree stockade on all sides, and began to fire on the party. The guard finding themselves attacked, returned the fire, and several rounds were discharged on both sides, for the space of nearly an hour, when three of the men, named Koorbanee, Sauchee, and Ghollam Khan, having been killed, and the Burmahs having, by the fire of their great guns (probably swivels) set in flames a part of the stockade, the Jemadar was obliged to abandon the spot, and retreat to the banks of the river Khor. At this time Akber, the interpreter of the guard, according to the orders of the Jemadar, called out "Dooahee Company Behadour," but the Burmahs paid no attention to the remonstrance. The ghat (landing place) of the river was taken possession of by crowds of Burmese boats. The Jemadar finding his ammunition nearly expended, got with his party into two boats which the boat-men of the place had contrived to get ready for them and retreated, the Burmese all the time firing at them, and they returning the fire. During the passage, four of the party were wounded, as per margin. On arriving near Tek Naf, they were joined by a party sent by the Soobedar to re-inforce them, but finding that they could not pass back to the island in consequence of the Shapuree ghat being

Jye Singh,
Bukshoo.
Lal Mahomed,
Akber.

in the possession of the Burmese, they returned to Tek Naf. The Jemadar further states, that many of the Burmahs were killed in the action. Also a Manjhee and a boat-man are missing, and one fisherman was killed and another wounded by the fire of the Burmahs.

*From the Governor General to the Viceroy of Pegu,
dated 17 October 1823.*

I have the honor to forward to your Excellency's care a declaration, prepared on my part, to the address of the Burmese government which, as it relates to matters of the highest importance, I request the favour of your transmitting to the court of Amerapura, by the surest and most expeditious channel.

Adverting to the friendly connection which has so long subsisted between the two states, and the desire uniformly evinced by the minister holding the office of Viceroy of Pegu, to improve and cement the relations of amity, and to augment the commercial intercourse between the British and Burmese dominions, I feel persuaded that your Excellency will learn, with regret, the rashness and folly of which the local officers of the Burmese Government in Arracan, have recently been guilty on the Chittagong frontier, and to which the paper now forwarded relates.

The most probable view of the case appears to be either, that the Rajahs of Arracan, Ramree &c. have acted entirely on their own responsibility; or that, if their proceedings have been in any degree authorized, the judgment of His Majesty the King of Ava must have been practised upon, and misled by gross misrepresentations, and designed perversion of the truth, on the part of the local officers of the distant province of Arracan, who, for some unworthy purpose of their own, and utterly regardless of consequences, have dared to represent the island of Shapuree as belonging to Arracan, and perhaps even to exaggerate a simple police arrangement of the British government into an invasion of the Burmese territories. The subject therefore of the accompanying declaration is, to place the real facts of the case fully and distinctly before His Majesty, and to state the demand and expectation of the British government, that the court of Ava will take such notice of the insolent and unwarrantable proceedings of its officers, as the circumstances of the case imperatively demand.

Cordially solicitous to maintain the relations of peace and amity with the state of Ava unimpaired, it will afford me the most lively satisfaction to find, that the sentiments entertained by His Burmese Majesty on this affair are such, as not only to render unnecessary any interruption of the intercourse and connection which have proved so beneficial to both countries, but even to rivet the bonds of friendship more firmly than before, by occasioning the removal and punishment of the authors of this and former acts of outrage and aggression on the Chittagong frontier.

[The English letter of 17 October 1823 was addressed to the viceregal governor of Pegu because the kings of Burma would not condescend to correspond direct with a mere Governor General. The letter received no answer.]

From the Adjutant General to the Governor General; dated 24 November 1823.

The Commander in Chief can hardly persuade himself that, if we place our frontier in even a tolerable state of defence, any very serious attempt will be made by the Burmese to pass it; but should he be mistaken in this opinion, he is inclined to hope that our military operations on the eastern frontier will be confined to their expulsion from our territories and to the re establishment of those states along the line of our frontier which have been over-run and conquered by the Burmese.

From Captain Johnstone, to W. J. Turquand, Esq., Acting Judge and Magistrate, Sylhet; dated 8 January 1824.

I have just this moment received an express from Captain Bowe, communicating intelligence of a large body of Burmahs approaching towards the British frontier; on my arrival at Budderpoor [Bardarpur on the Cachar side of the Jaintia Hills border], should I obtain the sanction of Rajah Ghumbeer Sing of Cachar, to enter his dominions, may I have your permission to advance and give them battle?

From W. J. Turquand, to Captain Johnstone, Commanding a Detachment of the Left Wing 23d Native Infantry. On the River, 8 January 1824.

I have just this moment received your letter of this day's date and in reply, beg to apprise you that the determination of Government is decided, that any endeavours of the Burmese to possess themselves of Cachar should not be permitted. I request, therefore, you will immediately require them to withdraw, and forward the enclosed letter from me to the Commander of the Burmese troops, in which I have stated, that Cachar is considered under the protection of the British Government, and will, therefore be defended from all foreign interference. After this being done, should he not think fit to comply with the requisition therein contained, and still persist in withdrawing a foreign force into Cachar, you will, of course, on the requisition of Gumbheer Sing, in conjunction with Captain Bowe's detachment, and that at Dumdunah, use your best endeavours to restrain the invasion, by taking such measures as you may deem most advisable. I have sent a copy of your letter to me and your express to his address, to Major Newton, and requested his return forthwith, he being at present at Pundwuta, examining that pass.

From Major Thomas Newton, to W. J. Turquand, Esq., Acting Magistrate, Sylhet; dated Camp Budderpore, 18 January 1824

In consequence of intelligence which I received on the evening of the 16th instant, that a body of about four thousand Burmese and Assamese had crossed into the plains at the foot of the Berteaker pass, an wered stockading themselves at the village of Bekrampore; also, that a force to the eastward had defeated Rajah Gumbheer Sing's troops and that a third division were crossing the Mootagool pass into Jyntea, to the northwest—I resolved, under circumstances so threatening to my force, to concentrate my detachment at Jattrapore [Jatrapur in Cachar], and move from thence

with the whole due northward, and attack the enemy before they could have time to strengthen their position. I accordingly ordered Captain Johnstone to join me from Tilayen, leaving his camp standing, and at two A. M. of the 17th, we moved off. At six A. M. just beyond an almost impervious grass and reed jungle, which we, with considerable difficulty, marched through, we came into a comparatively plain country, where the situation of the enemy was discovered, by the discharge of two shots at the advanced guard. Their position extended along the villages at the foot of the hills: they were covered by the huts, bushes &c. in a close and difficult country, and on their right they had a stockade on the banks of a steep nullah, occupied by about two hundred men; the attack was made in two divisions; the southern face of the stockade being assaulted by Captain Johnstone, with part of the 23d Regiment and Rungpore Light infantry, and the enemy's line, in the villages, being attacked by Captain Bowe, with part of the 10th Regiment: the whole under my command. This last was immediately successful; the greater part of the enemy, supposed to be Assamese, flying to the hills at the first fire. Captain Bowe then wheeled his force to the attack of the stockade, which was making a brave resistance against Captain Johnstone, and in a short time it was carried by assault, by the united exertions of both parties.

From D. Scott, Esq., Agent of the Governor General on the North East Frontier, to G. Swinton, Esq., Secretary to the Bengal Government; dated Munnipore, 3d February 1824.

In continuation of the subject of my letter to your address of the 31st ultimo, I beg to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, that my interpreter returned this day from the Burmese camp at Jattrapore, and states that the Commander of the forces there, in reply to his demand, for an answer to the various letters addressed to him, declared that he would give none, until he received instructions from Ava, to which place he had despatched messengers.

The interpreter says, that the Commander behaved to him in a very outrageous manner, sometimes threatening in a violent passion to cut off his head and sometimes declaring that he would satisfy his resentment by marching to England. He further states, that they said, that the Governor of Assam was not with the army; but on consideration of the tenor of the Burmese letter, of which a translation was submitted with my postscript of yesterday's date, I think it is not improbable that they have been induced to make this declaration, with reference to the contents of my letters of date the 23d ultimo and 1st instant, of which translations are annexed, in hopes of preventing the advance of our troops into Assam.

The Jynteah Rajah has, with the usual procrastinating policy of the native princes, declined entering into a treaty of alliance, until, as he says, the necessity may prove more urgent. I have pointed out the folly of this line of conduct, in the strongest terms; and with a view to prevent his being intimidated into submission by the approach of the Burmese

army, I have, in the mean time, promised him the assistance of our troops, provided he himself makes all the opposition he can; and declared, that if he admit the Burmese into his territories without doing so, we shall treat him as an enemy.

He has collected a considerable force, said to amount to several thousand archers; and has undoubtedly the means of defending his own territory, at least until assistance could be afforded him; should he, from his conduct, appear to deserve it, I would propose presenting him with a part of the muskets that are expected from Calcutta.

I have the honour of forwarding a translation of a letter respecting the Jynteah country, which I am just about to despatch to the Burmese Commander.

In respect to the exercise of the power with which his Lordship has been pleased to vest me, of eventually directing the advance of the troops into Assam, I shall observe the utmost caution. Of the inconvenience that might result from such a movement, I am fully aware; and it is only in case it should appear to be indispensable towards compelling the evacuation of Cachar before the commencement of the unhealthy season that I should venture to have recourse to it. In that case, also, I shall at the same time address you by express; and there will still be time to countermand the order, via Rungpore, should it then appear inexpedient to Government.

*From the Agent to the Governor General to the Commander of the
Burmese forces in Cachar; dated 23 January, 1824.*

After the usual compliments.....Previously to this, from Gowalpara [Goalpara, on the Brahmaputra river, was the eastern limit of British rule], I wrote three letters to the Governor of Assam, acquainting him that the country of Cachar was under the protection of the British Government, and that we could not permit the forces of the King of Ava to occupy it without resistance. Notwithstanding this, forgetting the obligations imposed by the subsisting friendship between your Sovereign and the Honorable Company, you have come into Cachar with an army from Assam, and another from Munnipore, and are devastating the country. Before I wrote you, and I now repeat, that the country of Cachar is under our protection, and upon receipt of this letter it is incumbent upon you to retire with your army to the places whence you came. If unfortunately you should refuse, notwithstanding the subsisting friendship, I must direct the British troops to advance into Assam whence you came, and also into Cachar, to repel you by force. For the consequence of such a measure, followed as it may be, by a war between the King of Ava and the Honorable Company, you will have to answer.

Besides this, I have heard that you have detained our Vakeel Biddeanund Sein, contrary to the custom of all countries. This a very improper and illegal act, sanctioned by the customs of no country; I therefore request that the Vakeel may be immediately released. If you keep him confined, or maltreat him, or any other person in a similar situation, you will be held personally responsible for the same.

Letter from the Governor of Assam, one of the Nobles of the King of Ava, an Emperor of the Burmah Country.

Mahanund Kegoodeen, Governor of Assam, intimates to the Magistrate of Sylhet the following circumstance: Gopee Govind Chund, the Rajah of Cachar, being driven from his country by the chiefs of Munnipore, threw himself at the foot of the throne of the Burmese emperor, and preferred an earnest request for assistance, pleading, that Chowrjeet, and Marjeet, chiefs of Munnipore, had attacked and conquered his country; that on the occurrence of the misfortune, he had retired into the Company's Province of Sylhet and that from that place he had proceeded to Arrakan. The Governor of that district having inquired into the complaint of the said Gopee Chund, he related the particulars of his hard case, and stated, that for redress he sought the protection of his Burmese Majesty. The Governor of Arrakan having detained the said Gopee Chund there, sent a petition reporting the application made by him. In reply, an imperial mandate was issued regarding the presence of Gopee Chund at Court, and in obedience thereto the Governor of Arrakan sent him to the presence. On the arrival of the Gopee Chund at the foot of the throne of the King of Kings, he represented the hardships he had endured, and his Majesty, pitying his misfortunes, comforted him and said, "We will re-establish you in your kingdom of Cachar." At length the Emperor ordered the advance of two armies, one from Munnipore and one from Assam; and accordingly Munghee Maha Keyoong Jowa, General of the forces, with eighteen thousand men, has arrived from the former country; and I, the writer, Maha Nund Kegoodeen, with fifteen thousand from Assam. The distressed Rajah Gopee Chund is also with us.

On the 13th of the month of Pëndula, or in the month of Poss 1230, Bengal style, the Magistrate of Sylhet sent a letter to meet us, and the army of the King of Ava and that of the Company, meeting on the banks of the Jatinga since, an alarm ensued. The letter from Sylhet having arrived, was read, and the contents thereof are: That beside friendship, there was no enmity between the Rajah Gopee Chund and the King of Ava, and that on hearing that I was coming to re-establish the said Rajah, great pleasure was experienced by the functionaries of the Company; also that the Rajah Gopee Chund, in retaining the protection of his Imperial Majesty, was highly fortunate.

An imperial mandate directed to me has been received, couched in the following terms:—Whereas Chowrjeet and Marjeet, by deceit and insolence, have obtained possession of the country of Cachar, the patrimony of Rajah Gopee Chund, you are hereby commanded to conquer the said Raj, and to restore it to the rightful owner.

In obedience to this order I, Maha Nund Kegoodeen, have arrived with an army, and intending to fight with and to conquer Chowrjeet and Marjeet, I have met the English Company's troops, and fought with them: It will not be unknown to you, that before this, King Bering, a son of one of the nobles of Arrakan, having disobeyed the order of the Emperor, was expelled from that country and took refuge in the English

Company's territories. On that occasion the chiefs of his Imperial Majesty and the functionaries of the Company had disputes, and quarrels ensued. Now, also on account of the Munnipore Rajah's receiving protection from the English Company, the like occurrence has taken place, and a battle has ensued. Besides that, Boosyn and Eyassyn, and the Boora Gohayn and Chunder Kant, former Rajahs of Assam, one after another, having misbehaved and rebelled in the dominions of the King of Ava, took refuge in the territories of the Company on that account; also disputes occurred between the functionaries of the Company and those of the King of Ava, and rebels have thus been suffered to occasion discord between the two states, until at length a battle has actually taken place. In reality, the above-mentioned chiefs justly apprehended our vengeance, being fit objects for punishment, but they have escaped, and without reason a battle has taken place between the forces of the Company and those of the King of Ava. Now the armies of his Majesty have arrived from Munnipore, and also from Assam, and I, Maha Nund Kegooden, will re-establish Rajah Chund in his lawful station. I have come with the most positive orders to effect this, and besides, by chance, there was a battle on the way. Never will I depart from the orders of his Majesty, but I will certainly restore Gopee Chund to his former dignity.

It will not be unknown to you, that between the functionaries of the Company and those of his Majesty there was peace; and that notwithstanding frequent disputes, never had an open breach of friendship taken place, but the merchants of the two countries continued all along to carry on trade, as usual between the ports of the two states. Now that state of things is at end. I shall not fail to do my best and with the English Company War will ensue. The former Kings of Ava were always at peace with the Company, but that is now over, and the bands of friendship are severed asunder. Formerly you wrote a letter from which it appeared there was friendship between Rajah Gopee Chund and the English Company; it is therefore likely that their functionaries will not be disinclined to promote his benefit; and it is therefore proper, that having confined the Munniporean chiefs, you deliver them up to me. If you will not do this, I have the King's order to seize them in whatever country they may be found. According to that order I will act. The above is the truth: I have written it.

From the Agent to the Governor General to the Commander of the Burmese forces in Cachar, dated 1 February 1824.

After the usual compliments. Your letter of the month of Maugh, 1745, has been received, and the contents understood. You write, that by the orders of the Burmah King, you have come with an army to reinstate Rajah Govind Chunder in the Government of Cachar. My friend, the country of Cachar is under the protection of the Honorable English Company, and we cannot permit a foreign power to establish a Rajah there. To the reinstatement of Rajah Govind Chunder we have no objection, but it must be done on the part of the Government; I am

therefore hopeful, that having withdrawn from further interference with the affairs of Cachar, you will retire to your own country. You have written respecting the affair at Bikrampore. I regret that such an occurrence should have taken place, but as I wrote three letters to the Commander of the Burmese forces in Assam, from Gowalpara, declaring that the country of Cachar was under our protection, and that we should forcibly resist any attempt to occupy it; and, notwithstanding this formal warning you persisted in invading the country, you must be sensible, this unpleasant affair, which happened previously to my arrival here, was entirely attributable to your own conduct. Now I hope you will retire your army from Cachar, and prevent the further progress of hostilities. You state, that you will attempt to seize Chourjeet, and Marjeet, and Gumbheer Sing, in a foreign territory, should they be found therein; my friend, this declaration is inconsistent with the rules of friendship and good manners, as the abovementioned persons are in our dominions. You, of course, have the power of apprehending delinquents in your own territory, but not beyond the boundary, which we could never permit. If you come into our territory to seize the abovementioned, we must resist, and war may ensue. It is the desire of your Sovereign that Chourjeet, Marjeet, and Gumbheer Singh should not be allowed to return to Cachar; and we, also, are willing to prevent them from ever again creating disturbances in the country. Before this I wrote, and I now repeat, that I am desirous of having a personal interview with you. I therefore hope that you will meet me half-way between our respective encampments, when we may discuss the above and other matters, by which means the peace that has so long subsisted between your Sovereign and the Honorable Company may be maintained.

P. S. What else I had to say, I wrote in a letter dated the 23rd of January. You will consider the contents, and act with propriety.

From the Agent to the Governor General, to Maha Nund Kegoodeen, Commander of the Burmese forces in Cachar; dated 2 February 1824.

After the usual compliments. I received your letter in the Bengali language. That in the Burmese character also arrived; but for want of an able interpreter it was sent elsewhere for translation. This has now arrived; and it appears that you write, that the old friendship subsisting between us and your Rajah is at an end, and that war will ensue. Of the result of hostilities, we have no apprehension; but we shall regret to find the long established friendship between the two countries interrupted by your proceedings. Hitherto you have experienced the advantages of being at peace with us: now if you insist upon war, you will also taste its bitter fruits. On all other matters I addressed you on the 23rd of January, and 1st of February. From my letters of those dates, you will have learned my mind.

Now, I hear that you design to enter the Jynteah country, and that you have sent people to the Rajah. Therefore I acquaint you, that we will not permit the execution of this fresh act of aggression. First

because the Rajah's ancestor received that country as a gift, after conquest, from the Honorable Company, and he himself has sought our protection.

Secondly. Because, as you openly threaten war, we cannot permit you to occupy that or any other favourable position for commencing hostilities.

Having understood this, you will do well to return speedily by the road by which you came, otherwise you may lose possession of the country of Assam, whence you proceeded.

Letter of 2 February 1824 from the Burmese Commander in Chief in Assam to the Rajah of Jynteah.

Menga Maha Nanda Kroden, Commander in Chief of Assam, acquaints the Rajah of Jynteah and ministers, that presents and offerings from the country of Jynteah were invariably sent to the Rulers of Assam, until Rajah Goorenath became engaged in war with Matounka; and the country and several villages were depredated; from this time the usual offerings were discontinued.

Assam and its Sovereign having been conquered by his Burman Majesty, a Governor has been appointed to its four cities and eight provinces, including Jynteah, and to preserve peace. Loja Koop, the Chief of Chajooky, and Nattee, and Cho-hu-ru, other Chiefs, recognize our authority. The General is, accordingly, commanded to acquaint the Rajah of Jynteah and ministers, wherever they may be, that they must bow submission and send offerings. He is also commanded to proceed by land, for the purpose of placing the Chief of Cozalee on the musnud. By the good fortune of our Sovereign, the King of White Elephants, etc., on our arrival at Cozalee, we attacked and assaulted the Cassayers, took prisoners, and quieted the disturbances which prevailed there. The Rajah of Jynteah and ministers always obeyed the commands of the Assamese Rulers, and sent presents and offerings.

Dootwyun, now in the Royal service, the son of the Rajah of Cozalee, and his officers like Kooran, Lijah Koop, Dooraik Woourah, are charged with this letter, and ordered to request the Rajah of Jynteah to come to the place where our forces are assembled for the purpose of aordiff gnex planation.

From Captain Johnstone, Commanding a detachment of the 23rd Regiment Native infantry, to the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, dated Budderpore, 14 February 1824.

The command of this post having devolved upon me, in the absence of Major Newton, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, that the Burmese advanced yesterday morning in very great force to within one thousand yards of this post, on the north bank of the Soormah river, and commenced upon the construction of five separate stockades on most advantageous ground.

Having obtained the sanction of Mr. Scott the Governor-General's agent, for dislodging them from positions which, if permitted to be finished, would form a serious hindrance to our future plans, and inevitably caused the sacrifice of many lives in their reduction, I was determined, if possible, to drive the enemy from them in their unfinished state, and with this view directed Captain Bowe, with part of the 2d Battalion 23d Regiment Native Infantry, and a party of the Rungpore Light Infantry, to cross the Soormah, whilst I proceeded, accompanied by Mr. Scott's interpreter, up the river, in order to induce them to desist from throwing up these fortifications; but seeing no probability of their acquiescence, and that they were rather waiting for further reinforcements, I thought proper to direct the advance of the column.

On reaching the first stockade, the enemy fired upon the leading sections, who ascended the height and instantly drove the enemy with the bayonet from the stockade, and rapidly followed them up without giving them time to rally, till every stockade was carried in the same gallant manner, and left in our possession; my instructions from Mr. Scott being not to commence firing, unless much resistance was made, prevented the enemy's loss from being so great as they otherwise must have sustained: with the stockades the enemy abandoned a number of gingals and muskets, and the whole of their ammunition.

I am sorry to add, that this success, on our part, was not obtained without the loss of a Jemadar of the 1st battalion, 10th regiment, and a number of men wounded, principally by spikes and bows set in the ground to impede the advance of the detachment.

I cannot close this despatch without bringing to his Excellency's notice the gallant conduct of Captain Bowe, who commanded the column of attack, and that of Lieutenant Ellis, who commanded the detachment 2d battalion 23d Native Infantry, and of whom Captain Bowe makes particular mention; indeed the whole of the detachment behaved with the utmost steadiness and bravery throughout.

From Lieutenant Colonel H. Bowen, Commanding in Sylhet, to Captain Bayldon, Major of Brigade, Dacca; dated Jattrapore, 22 February 1824.

I have the honor to report to you for the information of Lieutenant-Colonel McMorine, commanding the frontier, that agreeably to the requisition of D. Scott, Esq. Political Agent, the detachment under my command again disembarked yesterday morning at eight o'clock, and after a march of two hours, fell in with the enemy's stockades at Doodpatlee.

Several spirited attacks were made upon their position, under cover of a heavy fire from three six-pounders, all of which, I am sorry to say, failed, and after a most severe action, which lasted from ten o'clock until evening, I was compelled to draw off the detachment, and return to the strong stockades, which have been evacuated by the enemy at Jattrapore on the 16th instant, leaving two European officers and one hundred and fifty men (between the enemy and our present position) at the strong post of Tilayn, as a measure of observation and safety.

I regret to say, that our loss has been severe; one European officer killed, one Lieutenant-colonel wounded slightly, one Captain and one Ensign wounded dangerously, and about one hundred and fifty-five men killed and wounded.

I have not as yet been able to ascertain the exact extent of our loss, but as soon as I collect the returns, I shall have the honor to forward them.

The enemy's force may be fairly computed at two thousand Burmahs, including cavalry, and they fought with a bravery and obstinacy which I have never witnessed in any troops. It is impossible to estimate their loss, but it must be very severe.

Our troops behaved with their usual steadiness and gallantry, and retired with the heavy guns in the best order.

P.S.—The returns having been received, they are herewith enclosed:—

Returns of Killed & Wounded of the 1st Battalion 10th Regiment in action with the Burmese, on the 21st Feby. 1824.,

Killed—1 Lieutenant, & 14 Sepoys. Wounded—1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Ensign, 1 Subadar, 4 Jemadars, 6 Havildars 6 Naicks, 84 Sepoys, and 1 Lascar.—Lieutenant Armstrong, killed.—Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen, wounded slightly.—Ensign Barberie, wounded severely.

List of killed & Wounded of a Detachment of the 2d Battalion 23d Regiment, in an action with the Burmese, on the 21st February 1824.

Killed—2 Sepoys.—Wounded—1 Captain, 1 Havildar, 1 Naick, and 21 Sepoys.—Captain Johnstone, wounded severely.

List of Killed & Wounded of a Detachment of the Rungpore Light Infantry, in an action with the Burmese, on the 21st Feby. 1824.

Killed—1 Naick, and 3 Sepoys.—Wounded—2 Naicks, and 4 Sepoys.

From Lieutenant-Colonel H. Bowen, Commanding the Detachment at Cachar, to Lieutenant Colonel Nicol, Adjutant General of the Army, Head Quarters; dated Camp near Jattrapore, 25 February 1824.

I regret to have to report to you that Lieutenant A. B. Armstrong, of the 1st battalion, 10th regiment N. I., was killed in action with the Burmese on the 21st instant at Doodputlee. This valuable officer was shot at the head of the Grenadiers, among the stakes and spring guns which were planted all round the enemy's stockades outside, for a distance of from twenty to thirty yards, concealed for the most part in long grass.

It is my painful duty to mention, by this opportunity, that Captain Johnstone, of the 23rd regiment N. I., and Ensign Barberie, of the 10th regiment N. I. are in a very dangerous state; the former was shot through the thigh bone, and the latter had his leg shattered to pieces, and has since been amputated. I trust it will not be considered presumption in me to express my hope, that something may be done for these two officers in the event of their recovery, and in consideration of their brave and gallant conduct in the actions of the 13th, 18th and 21st instant.

Captain Johnstone has been twenty years in the army, has seen much actual service, has never been absent from his corps during all that time (except on sick certificate for four months) and has rendered me the greatest assistance throughout.

I cannot close this letter without deeply lamenting our failure at Doodpatlee, and the loss we have sustained, and I sincerely hope his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, will concur in opinion with Mr. Scott, the Governor-General's Agent, and myself, that we were justified in following up our former rapid success in our attack at Doodpatlee, in order to prevent the junction of the Assamese and Burmese armies, and the invasion of our own territories, which they had repeatedly threatened by letter, since (notwithstanding our failure) it has caused the army to evacuate their strong stockades at and around Doodpatlee, and to proceed in disorder in the direction of Munnypore and Assam, of which authentic accounts reached me yesterday.

It has now been ascertained by people sent to examine the evacuated stockades at Doodpatlee, that the enemy had between four and five hundred men killed and wounded. They were wholly composed of Burmese, and they fought desperately, reserving their fire to the last moment, and seldom missing their object.

I beg leave to supply an omission in my report of this affair, under date the 2d instant, and to state that Major Newton, with an hundred and fifty men of the detachment left to protect the stockades at Jattrapore, joined me by order on the evening of the 20th, near Doodpatlee.

*Proclamation by the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council,
5 March 1824.*

The conduct of the Burmese having compelled the British government to have recourse to arms in support of its rights and honour, the Governor-General in Council hereby notifies, that the government of Ava is placed in the condition of a public enemy, and that all British subjects, whether European or Native, are prohibited from holding any communication with the people of that state, until the differences now unhappily existing, shall be terminated.

The Governor-General Council deems it proper to take this opportunity of publicly declaring the causes that have led to hostilities with a state, between which and the Honorable East India Company, a friendly intercourse has long subsisted, to the great advantage of both parties, and with which the British government has invariably sought to cultivate and maintain the relations of amity.

During many years past, the Burmese officers governing the country contiguous to our south-east frontier, have, from time to time, been guilty of acts of encroachment and aggression, which the British Government would have been fully justified in repelling by force.

Solicitous, however, to preserve with all nations, the relations of peace, the British government has considered it to be, in an especial manner, its duty to make large allowances for the peculiar circumstances

and character of the Burmese government and people. The consciousness of its power to repel and punish aggression has strengthened the motives of forbearance towards a nation removed, by their geographical situation, from the immediate circle of our political relations, and with whom (as we have no opposing interests) the supreme government sought only to maintain a commercial intercourse on terms of equality and freedom, conducive to the welfare and prosperity of both countries.

So long, therefore, as the aggressions of which the British government had to complain, could be treated as the unauthorized acts of the subordinate officers of the Burman government, and could be tolerated consistently with the national honor & the security of the British territories, the supreme government sedulously endeavored to preserve unimpaired the existing relations of peace and friendship, notwithstanding provocations which would have fully justified, & from a state more formidable in position and resources, would have imperiously demanded a resort to arms.

Trusting that the motives of its conciliatory demeanor could not have been misunderstood, the British government persuaded itself that the government of Ava, however extravagant in its pretensions, must have been no less desirous than ourselves to maintain a friendly intercourse so profitable to that country, and could not but be sensible, that as our moderation was founded on a consciousness of our strength, and on a general desire to preserve the blessings of peace, so our forbearance would not be carried beyond the limits where it ceased to be compatible with the safety of our subjects, the integrity of our dominions, and the honour of our country.

Unhappily, these expectations have been disappointed. The Burmese government, actuated by an extravagant spirit of pride and ambition, and elated by its conquests over the petty tribes by which it is surrounded, has ventured to violate the British territories, to attack and slay a party of British sepoys, to seize and imprison British subjects, to avow extensive schemes of mischievous aggression, and to make hostile preparations on our frontier, that leave no doubt of its intention to execute its insolent and unjustifiable threats.

In prosecution of a groundless claim to the island of Shapuree, the Burmese chiefs of Arracan, in a time of profound peace, and without any previous attempt at negotiation on the part of their government, attacked, under cover of night, a small guard of British troops stationed on that island for purposes of police, and drove them from their post with the loss of several lives. No answer has been returned by the court of Amrapoor to the demand of explanation and atonement which it was of course the duty of the British government instantly to prefer, but which was made in the same spirit of conciliation which had always characterised our communications with the court of Ava. On the contrary, the Burmese local authorities have distinctly declared the determination of their sovereign to invade the British dominions unless their groundless claim to Shapuree is unequivocally admitted.

Subsequently to the attack on the island of Shapuree, the commanding officer and several of the crew of the Honorable Company's schooner *Sophia* were insidiously enticed on shore, and carried into the interior, by the order of commissioners specially deputed to Arracan by the Burmese court, and although subsequently released, they have been sent back without any explanation or apology for the insulting outrage.

The Burmese generals on the north-east have, at the same moment, advanced their troops into the country of Cachar and occupied a post within only five miles of the frontier of Sylhet, notwithstanding that they were distinctly warned by the British authorities, in that quarter, that the petty state of Cachar was under the protection of the British government, and that the movement of their troops must be regarded as an act of hostility to be repelled by force. In both quarters, the Burmese chiefs have publicly declared their determination to enter the British territories in pursuit of alleged offenders against the government of Ava, and have avowed intentions of open hostility as the alternative of our refusing to comply with their unjust and utterly inadmissible pretensions.

Whilst occupying their threatening position on the British frontier, the Burmese government planned, moreover, the conquest of Jyntee, another chiefship situated similarly with Cachar, in regard to the district of Sylhet, and which having formerly been restored by the British authorities to the family of the reigning Rajah, after a temporary convulsion, had been more distinctly recognized as a dependency of Bengal. They called on the Rajah to acknowledge submission and allegiance to the King of Ava, and a demonstration was actually made to enter his territory, when the advance of the British troops frustrated the execution of their hostile design.

The deliberate silence of the court of Amrapoor, as well as the combination and extent of the operations undertaken by its officers, leave it no longer doubtful that the acts and declarations of the subordinate authorities are fully sanctioned by their sovereign, and that that haughty and barbarous court is not only determined to withhold all explanation and atonement for past injuries, but mediates projects of the most extravagant and unjustifiable aggression against the British government.

The Governor-General in Council therefore, for the safety of our subjects, and the security of our districts, already seriously alarmed and injured by the approach of the Burmese armies, has felt himself imperatively called on to anticipate the threatened invasion. The national honor no less obviously requires that atonement should be had for wrongs so wantonly inflicted and so insolently maintained, and the national interests equally demand that we should seek, by an appeal to arms, that security against future insult and aggression which the arrogance and grasping spirit of the Burmese government have denied to friendly expostulation and remonstrance.

With these views and purposes, the Governor-General in Council has deemed it an act of indispensable duty to adopt such measures as are necessary to vindicate the honor of the British government, to bring the Burmese to a just sense of its character and rights, to obtain an advan-

tageous adjustment of our eastern boundary, and to preclude the recurrence of similar insult and aggression in future.

Still animated by a sincere desire for peace, and utterly averse from all purposes of aggrandizement, the Governor General in Council will rejoice if the objects abovementioned can be accomplished without carrying the war to extremities. But to whatever length the conduct of the Burmese government may render it necessary to prosecute hostilities, His Lordship in Council relies with confidence on the justice of our cause, on the resources of the government, and on the approved valor of our troops, for the early and successful termination of the contest.

By Command of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council.

GEORGE SWINTON,

* SECY. TO GOVT.

THE ARAKAN MUG BATTALION.

BY SAN SHWE BU.

The Arakan Commissioner's Office contains some very interesting and valuable records which are among the oldest in British Burma. Though they are bound together and preserved in book form, yet a casual examination of them will convince a researcher that they have been very carelessly kept without the slightest attention being paid to any form of order or chronological sequence. The papers being all more or less mixed, one finds it most difficult to reproduce a connected account of any of the many interesting subjects with which they are concerned. The time has more than arrived when these valuable records ought to be properly looked after, tabulated and indexed by some one competent to undertake the work. In preparing the following account this difficulty has been met with, involving the sacrifice of much of its interest owing to the want of continuity of narration. Such as these facts are found, they are now served up without further apologies.

The first proposal to raise three companies of Mugs, each a hundred strong, was made by Mr. Robertson to Captain Hay, Commandant of the Provincial Battalion at Chittagong, for the purpose of protecting the district during the unhealthy season. This seems to have been carried out, for Captain Hay is asked to indent for arms and accoutrements for three hundred men. This order was sent on the 9th of February 1824. Besides this, Mr. C. R. Cartwright, Acting Collector of Chittagong, was asked to advance Rs. 1,500 to Captain Hay for the purpose.

Apparently one Mr Lindquist attached to some small force landed on the island of Shapuri and without authority removed the Burmese Flag. He was severely censured for this. Early in 1824 we find Robertson hinting at a possible rupture with the Governor of Arakan and advising Government to withdraw the small force ~~apparently~~ occupying that island. Another reason for withdrawal was unhealthiness. The ill feeling between the two people being really due to the boundary dispute, Robertson on the 8th January 1824 sends a letter to the Burmese Governor of Arakan to appoint some one to meet him to adjust the boundary. The dispute arose out of the arrest of two Englishmen who were found anchoring near the island. The Raja's letter being unfavourable, war is expected and Robertson takes precautions. He finds Arakanese cooperation indispensable. He works round their prejudices and gains their esteem. He praises their patriotism and their regard for their ancestors.

He thinks that there is no one under 40 who knows any thing about his country. Moreover he finds the Mugs never willing to work unless they were paid. The following passage represents his views regarding the

people. "It is a custom common to the Mugs, the Burmese and other Eastern tribes to give a bounty to every man going on actual service in his own country. This practice, I suspect, is found advantageous to several parties. It enables the sovereign to raise an army without difficulty, and the fact that the peaceful subject has to purchase an exemption from service ensures to the individual employed some remuneration for his exertion and affords the local authority an opportunity for extortion and embezzlement Another peculiarity of the Mugs is their respect for their hereditary national chiefs and their comparatively ready submission to the headmen of their wards or villages..... The inhabitants of one village will not move under the guidance of the headman of another village..... They are clearly a trading and not an agricultural race; and they seem to have the commercial indifference to hereditary rank with the commercial attachment to their own little respective communities. At Hur Bung which contains upwards of 1000 families of their tribe I was informed by the zemindar's agent that there was scarcely a single field cultivated by the Mugs." Here he talks about restoring the independence of Arakan and making over the country to the people, but doubts whether the Arakanese themselves would exchange life under settled Government for a precarious existence.

In the month of March troops gather on both frontiers. Conditions of amicable settlement are laid down by Robertson as follows:—

- (i) First, that both of you (the Burmese Governor and Bandula) send me a written denial of your participation in the seizure of the two gentlemen and the khalasis, in order that being furnished with this document the Right Honourable the Governor General may write to the Sultan of Ava to have the person punished who was guilty of the act."
- (ii) "Secondly, that relinquishing all claims to the island of Shapuri you plainly state in writing that you admit the said Shapuri to belong to the Honourable Company, and that the local authorities in Arakan will never again pretend to lay claim to it."
- (iii) "Thirdly, you reduce the force in the Province of Arakan by sending away all but the usual number of troops. So soon as you comply with these three conditions we will immediately withdraw our forces."

These conditions are to be fulfilled within ten days counting from the 19th February 1824. In the event of their failure to comply with the above terms war is to be declared.

With a view to hostilities a party of 650 Mugs were sent to Naaf under the disposal of Colonel Shapland. He is told to train them for the subsequent formation of a permanent corps. To enable the proper

handling of the men a Bengali writer on Rs. 10 a month and a Mug interpreter on Rs. 10 a month are sanctioned in March 1824.

The Mug levy of 400 men is for the time being kept as a separate unit under Captain Pringle. In the month of April this officer is authorised to enrol suitable recruits and to raise the strength of the corps to 500. Other small bands of Mug distributed in other small towns do not form part of this regular levy, but Captain Pringle is asked to exercise control over them. They are not incorporated into the regular Provincial Battalion because of their general unwillingness to serve under foreign leaders.

This raising of Mug troops is more for political reasons than for any particular requirement of service; and in order to facilitate others joining the force when they are asked to do so. Colonel Shapland at the frontier is, however, on financial grounds, asked to discharge 700 Mugs under him in such a way that they will join again when wanted. He is asked to draw up an agreement to that effect, and adds: "The Mugs, though stubborn and intractable, are, I understand, generally faithful to any agreement they may enter into. I have reasons to think that these men will be found ready to adhere to the terms of their agreement."

Small bands of Mugs—20 to 90—are raised under their leaders and are looked upon as part of the regular troops. A pay of Rs. 7 a month is given to the leaders having more than 30 men under them. Discipline is to be introduced very gradually as sudden confinement would alienate the men from their cause. As an extra inducement extra pay is promised to those leaders who submit to regular drill and discipline. At first 3 leaders with their men agree to this. Their progress appears to be satisfactory: "many of the men are admirable marksmen and all of them seem previously acquainted with the use of the musket. It is the opinion of Captain Pringle and every officer who has observed them that they are particularly fitted to form an efficient rifle corps." The whole lot under training and proper discipline under Captain Pringle comes up to about 400 strong. They are given short green jackets as uniforms and 100 rifles are distributed among the best shots; six bugles are also given; and the ultimate object is to form a disciplined light infantry.

The levy at Chittagong being now without any officer to superintend and control them, become disorganised and rowdy. So in June 1824 Captain Dickenson of the Dacca Provincial Battalion is sent down to take charge. But on behalf of the Mugs it is stated that they, even when wounded severely, brought in their arms and accoutrements.

In July 1824 preparations were made to send 600 Mugs to Rangoon. The Mugs were very willing to go. They were sent in two batches, the first of which sailed in the "Thalis" under Captain Wiggins in the month of August 1824.

The Mug levy under Dickenson flourishes and he is authorised to raise the strength to 600. He gets in an extra Havildar and 2 Naiks of the Regular Army for the instruction of his men. On the 23rd July 1824 Captain Dickenson, in whose experience great trust is reposed, is empowered to form the men of his levy into six companies, viz:—

5 Companies, each consisting of

1 Subadar	at Rs. 40	a month.
2 Jemadars	at Rs. 20	„
6 Havildars	at Rs. 10	„
6 Naiks	at Rs. 8	„
1 Bugler	at Rs. 8	„
100 Privates	at Rs. 6	„

1 Company of Dowmen as a temporary establishment to be attached to the Corps during the War.

2 Jemadars	at Rs. 15	a month.
4 Havildars	at Rs. 8	„
4 Naiks	at Rs. 6-8	„
100 Privates	at Rs. 5	„

These men were equipped with light Fuzils with pouches and black belts of the new pattern—their old heavy muskets being too cumbersome.

The opinion formed by Captain Dickenson of his men and in which Mr. Robertson entirely agreed, was: "It is to be remarked very much in favour of the Mugs that every man who offers himself as a soldier seems to have his mind solely occupied with the idea of entering as a fighting man, and all his arguments hinge on that; and though the very limited experience I have yet had of them does not allow me to speak confidently, still I am greatly disposed to think the Mug will ultimately form a better and more useful soldier than ever was contemplated. Their hardiness, freedom from religious prejudices and mode of feeding are material circumstances in favour of my opinion of their natural courage and respectability. With regard to discipline I see neither difficulties nor obstructions to its perfect accomplishment with time. It must not too prematurely and too rigorously be imposed. The habits of the people must be gradually and progressively changed, and themselves more familiarised with the European character to ensure their confidence and by degrees to lessen that now reposed in their chiefs. If this corps is to be permanently retained the sooner it is rendered effective by the nomination for an Adjutant, the better, and he should be a young man selected for his fitness to assist in accomplishing the ends in view. A Quarter-master Sergeant would likewise be desirable."

Three days later Mr. Robertson in writing to the Government for the full equipment of the Mug Battalion makes the following remarks.

"I am happy in being able to inform the Government that Captain Dickenson has, by studying the character of his men and commencing the acquisition of their language, succeeded in bringing them into a state of discipline such as promises fair to render the levy a most useful and serviceable corps. Many of the Sardars have cheerfully agreed to undergo regular drill to enable them the better to direct and manage their men."

Writing to General Sir Archibald Campbell at Rangoon, Mr. Robertson gives some pertinent advice to that officer regarding the handling of the 600 Mugs sent under Captain Wiggins: "They are divided into several district parties, and it will be found advisable in employing them to mingle the different sets as little as possible with each other, and never if avoidable to place the men of one party under the orders of the Sardar of another. You will I hope find them an active, hardy and serviceable though often intractable body of men; but there are some peculiarities in their character, by attending to which much of the annoyance arising from their occasionally unaccountable perversity may be avoided. They dread being called coolies or any degrading appellation, and are fond in the extreme of being treated with some degree of consideration. They have no prejudices of caste and are possessed of a respectable degree of courage. They are extremely inquisitive, observant and jealous of any indulgence that other troops receive which they may be denied. If sent into the field without tents while every other Regiment has them, they may think themselves slighted and consequently form less efficient soldiers than they otherwise do."

With a view to the advance on Arakan in the proper season Mr. Robertson devises means of raising as many Mugs as possible for the purpose. He therefore gets some influential Mug Chiefs to write to those of their people who had settled in large numbers in the district of Backergunge, asking them to join the army which was to take the offensive in Arakan and which would eventually give them the opportunity of seeing and recovering their own country again.

But at this stage of preparation we find that in November some doubt is expressed by Government if it would be advisable to allow the Mugs to take active part in the operations in Arakan, the suggested alternative being their employment at Chittagong for civil purposes. Robertson dissents from this view and points out the obvious disadvantages. He says that the levy was quite an experimental measure chiefly undertaken "to ascertain whether trained soldiers may not be raised from a class whom it has hitherto been supposed impossible to discipline." It was therefore finally decided to take them into Arakan, and accordingly an additional 300 Mug pioneers were raised under Lieutenant Scott.

In November of the same year an additional Rifle Corps is attached to the Levy and Captain Macfarlane is specially brought down from the

16th Madras Infantry to train them. He is so successful that he is permanently retained for the campaign at hand.

At the recommendation of Captain Dickenson an extra field allowance is sanctioned, to continue only while on active service.

Subadars	.....	Rs. 8-0
Jemadars	.....	„ 5-0
Havildars	.....	„ 2-8
Naiks	.....	„ 2-0
Buglers	.....	„ 2-0
Sepoys	.....	„ 1-8

In December Mr. Miller of the "Rose Ark" is appointed to be in medical charge of the Mug Levy.

The Government does not seem to attach much importance to the Mug Levy, and was inclined to deprive it of some of the privileges given to regular troops. We find Mr. Robertson fighting tooth and nail on their behalf, and pointing out that in a country like Arakan no Indian troops could be as useful, and the utility of the campaign rested entirely with the Mugs. He points out that as the Mugs were very proud and independent, any slight offered to them would prove disastrous to their cause; and that no amount of pecuniary recompense would mitigate the evil once created by preferential treatment. He regrets that they are still looked upon as irregulars and advances reasons to support his contention that they ought to be incorporated into the permanent establishment under the new designation of "Mug Rangers." In fact towards the end of December, anticipating Government compliance, he instructs Brigadier Morrison, commanding the Chittagong Division, to transfer the Levy, as a temporary measure, from the Political to the Military Department.

We next hear of Maungdaw being taken by Brigadier Morrison. Unfortunately the letter of information gives no date, but it is probable that it took place in January 1825. In the following month Mr. Robertson is taking every pains to reduce the conquered territory to some semblance of law and order. With this object he places Major Roope in full control in the District giving him directions to deal with crime in a manner suggested by his own discretion. Under him he also appoints

Mug Kyaun Oks over each half of the District, with the authority of petty Magistrates. We can see how very anxious he is to win over the confidence of the people and with that purpose he exerts himself to the utmost. He writes to Major Roope: "In all capital or heinous criminal matters the offender had better be confined and the circumstances of the case communicated to this office, whence further instructions will be received under such rules as may hereafter be laid down by Government. You will examine into all petty theft, assault, disturbances, quarrels, etc., etc., and award at your own discretion either a sentence of moderate

fine, imprisonment or corporal punishment limiting the infliction of the latter to 30 rattans.....Cases of petty debts and civil actions for money may be adjusted summarily when necessary by yourself.....A weekly report had better be in the same manner required from the two Kyaun Oks who must also be made to understand that they are to send immediate information of every serious occurrence to your office."

On the 7th January 1825 Government sanctions the transfer of the Mug Levy from the Political to the Military Department and places it under General Morrison.

With the fall of Arakan in March 1825 and its occupation by the British, Mr. Robertson is appointed Agent to the Governor-General in Arakan and Commissioner for the management of Civil Affairs. He is therefore given increased salary of Rs. 50,000 a year. He is also permitted to hold his original situation as Judge and Magistrate of Cawnpur. His duties are to collect revenue, to organise efficient police, to administer Civil and Criminal Justice, adhering as far as possible, to local usages and institutions, except when they are plainly at variance with the principles of humanity and natural equity. To assist him in this high office Mr. C. Paton, Magistrate of Calcutta, is appointed his assistant.

Captain Hutchins, the second in command of the Mug Levy, having taken leave, Captain Macfarlane is appointed in his stead in August 1825. In the same month Mr. Paton is directed to raise an additional 400 Mug recruits who should be trained along with the regular Levy. When the number sanctioned is completed, the question of its arms and accoutrements is to be considered by General Morrison.

On the 10th of March 1826 the Sub-Commissioner is informed by Government that it sanctions the disbandment of the Mug Pioneers raised at Chittagong to accompany the expeditionary force to Arakan.

Due to adverse reports the idea of forming a Mug Provincial Battalion on a large scale is stopped, and the Commissioner is authorised to employ the existing lot on police duty. The undisciplined conduct of the Mug soldiers is largely noticed by the military authorities; but on investigation it was found that it was mainly due to the removal of direct European control over them. It is therefore decided to place them always under European supervision and to utilise them along with other regular troops.

Correspondence lasts up to May 1826 only, when we have to leave the Mug Levy in the midst of general complaints against their conduct.

EXTRACTS FROM MON HISTORY.

BA SAYA THEIN.

(မွန်တလင်းရာဇဝင်မှထုတ်နှုတ်ချက်)

(၁) တံသာဝတီ-ဥပါယ်ခိုမြို့ကိုစိုးစံသော တိဿ-ကုမ္မာမင်းအကြောင်း။

ဝိမလမင်းသည်။ နန်းစည်းစိမ် ၂၂ နှစ်တိုင်းအောင်မင်းပြု၍။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၅၂၀ ခုနှစ်တွင်အနိစ္စဖြစ်လေ၏။ ဝိမလမင်းကံတော်ကုန်လျှင်။ တူတော်အဿကုမ္မာသည်။ သတ္တုဇေယျဘွဲ့ကိုခံယူ၍။ ထီးနန်းကိုသိမ်းပိုက်မင်းပြုတော်မူလေသည်။ ၎င်းမင်းသည် နန်းစည်းစိမ် ၂၀ တိုင်ခံစား၍ အနိစ္စဖြစ်လေသည်။

သည်နောက်။ ခမ္မန္တ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၅ နှစ်။

ထို့နောက်။ သုတမြ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၂၂ နှစ်။

နောက်။ နာဝိန္ဒ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၁၄ နှစ်။

နောက်။ ဂဗပိယ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၅ နှစ်။

နောက်။ အာရိဂါရ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၇ နှစ်။

နောက်။ မပ္ပဏ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၅၄ နှစ်။

နောက်။ တိဿဘူ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၃ နှစ်။

နောက်။ ဂေသေန-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၁၂ နှစ်။

နောက်။ ဗိတ္တဗိဗ္ဗ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၄ နှစ်။

နောက်။ သေနမန္တ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၇ နှစ်။

နောက်။ ဥပလ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၄ နှစ်။

နောက်။ ပုဏ္ဏ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၃ နှစ်။

နောက်။ ဝိန္ဒက-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၇ နှစ်။

ယင်းသည်မင်းတို့အဆက်မပြတ်မင်းပြု၍။ တံသာဝတီပြည်ကြီးတွင်။ သာသနာတော်ထွန်းတောက်လျက်။ သာယာစည်ပင်စွာယှိလေသတည်း။

နောက်တိဿကုမ္မာမင်းပြုသောအခါ။ ဌာနစက္ကားအမျိုးမျိုးဖြစ်သော။ အလဇ္ဇီရဟန်းတို့ ရောက်လာ၍။ မင်း၏ အထံတော်သို့ ဝင်ပြီးသော်။ မင်းကို ယေယျံ ယုံကြောင်းမိန့်ဆိုသည်မှာ။ သင်မင်းကြီး မြို့တော်သည်ကာ။ ဘုန်းတန်ခိုးကြီးမသိမြို့ဖြစ်မည်ကို။ မဟုတ်သည်အရာ။ သုသေကောင်ကို ကောင်းမွန်စွာမြှောက်ထား၍။ ကိုးကွယ်ကြသည့် အရာသည် မသင့်တင့်ပါ။ ဆရာတော်ကိုကို ယုံကြည်သဖြင့်။ မိန့်ကြားသော စကားကိုနာယူလျက်။ ပယ်ဖျောက်တော်မူပါလျှင်။ ဘုန်းတန်ခိုး အာဏာကြီး၍။ မင်းစည်းစိမ်ကို အရှည်ခံစားရပါမည်ဟု အကြိမ်ကြိမ် တိုက်တွန်းဖန်များသဖြင့်။ တိဿမင်း ယုံကြည်တော်မူ၍။ ကျောင်းကန်တို့ နှိုက်ယိုသော ဘုရားရုပ်ပွား ဆင်းတုများကို မင်းမိန့်နှင့် အကုန်ရှာစေ၍။ ရှာဖွေရယူသော ရုပ်ပွားတော်များကို။ မင်းအာဏာနှင့် ကိုးကွယ်ပူဇော်သည်ကို မပြုရဆို၍။ သေနသေကသော နေရာတို့ရှိက်။ ပစ်ထားကြရလေသည်။

သို့လိုဘုရားဆင်းတုတော်များကို။ စွန့်ပစ်ထားရသောကြောင့်။ မြို့ပြ ပြည်ရွာ တိုင်းကာ။ ငတ်မွတ်ခေါင်းပါးလျက်ယှိကြသဖြင့်။ ပြည်သူအပေါင်းတို့သည်။ ချောက်ချားတုန်လှုပ်။ စိုးရိမ်ခြင်း ပြင်းစွာ ယှိကြခိုက်အခါ။ တဦးသော သူဌေးသို့။ သုတဉာဉ်။ ပစ္စုပ္ပန် သံသရာအကျိုးနည်းပါးလျက်။ ပြည်သူအပေါင်းတို့အား ငရဲသို့လားစေအောင်။ မင်းပြုသည်အရာသည်ကာ။ သင့်မည်မဟုတ်။ မင်းတို့ ကျင့်စဉ်တရားပျက်ပြားလျက် ယှိချေပြီတကာ။ ထိုမင်း၏ အယူပြောင့်မတ်စေမှ။ ပြည်သူများချမ်းသာရာရချေမည်။ မင်း၏ အာဏာကို

လွန်ဆန်သည်ဟု ငါ့အားမင်းကကွပ်မျက် . တစ်မျှလျှင်လည်းကွပ်မျက်စေတော့၊ တသက်လျှာကိုငါခံတော့မည်။ ဘုရားတန်းခိုးဘော်ကြောင့်၊ ပြည်သူအပေါင်းချမ်းသာရအောင်။ ရတနာ ၃ ပါး တန်းခိုးဖြူး၊ မင်းကိုငါနိုင်ပေမည်ဟု စိတ်တွင်အမြီးယုံကြည်ရင်း ယှဉ်သည်အတိုင်း ဘုရားရုပ်ပွားဆင်းတုဘော်မျိုးကို မသန်သောနေရာမှပင့်ယူပြီးလျှင်၊ ခရု၊ ကန်ကြီးတစ်ခုတွင်၊ ရေနံ့ပွတ်တိုက်သုတ်သင်သပွယ်ပြီးမှ၊ နံ့သာအမွှေးအထုံလိမ်းကျံလျက် မြင့်မြတ်သောနေရာရှိက၊ တင်ထားကိုးကွယ်ပူဇော်လေ၏။

တိတ္ထိတို့သည်၊ သူဌေးသွီးပြုလုပ်ပူဇော်သည်ကိုမြင်၍ မင်းကိုပြောလေလျှင်၊ အမျှက်ဒေါသကြီးစွာဖြစ်လျက်၊ ခေါ်စေလေသည်။ မင်းကလည်း သူဌေးသွီးကိုရှေ့တွင် စီရင်မည်ဟူ၍။ သူသတ်တို့ကိုခေါ်ထားနှင့်လေသည်။ သူဌေးသွီးလည်း မင်းကခေါ်သည်ကိုဝမ်းမြောက်သဖြင့်၊ ဝတ်စားတန်းဆာကိုလှပစွာဝတ်ဆင်ပြီးသော်၊ နန်းဘော်သို့လိုက်သွား၍၊ မင်းရှေ့ရှိက် ခစားလျက်နေသည်တွင်၊ မင်းသည် နတ်သွီးကဲ့သို့လှပယဉ်ကျေးသည်ကိုမြင်ရသဖြင့်၊ ဒေါသအမျက်ပြေ၍၊ နှစ်သက်ခြင်းနှင့် မေးလေသည်ကား၊ ဟယ်မိန်းမ၊ နင်သည်၊ သစ်တုန်းပြားတို့ကို၊ ရှေးသူတို့ သူသေရုပ်ထုလုပ်၍ ကိုးကွယ်သည်ကို၊ ငါမကြိုက်သောကြောင့်၊ မသန်မစင်သော အရုပ်မှာ ငါထားစေသည်ကို၊ ၎င်းလူသေရုပ်မျိုးကိုညှဉ်သည်ဟူ၍၊ စင်ကြယ်အောင်ပွတ်သပ်ပြီးလျှင် ပူဇော်ထားသည်ကို၊ ဟုတ်သလောဟုမေးတော်မူသည်တွင်၊ သူဌေးသွီးကလည်း သာသနာတော်စောင့်နတ်ကောင်းနတ်မြတ်တို့၊ စောင်မကြည်ရှုသည့်လက္ခဏာ၊ ကြောက်ရွံ့ထိပ်လန်ခြင်းတို့ဖြင့် ကင်းလွတ်ခြင်းယှဉ်သည်နှင့်၊ မင်းကို လက်အုပ်ချီ၍ လျှောက်တင်လေသည်မှာ၊ ဘုန်းတော်ကြီးလှသော အသျှင်၊ သည်လူသေကောင်ဟုမိန့်ဆိုခြင်းသည်၊ ပကတိလူမဟုတ်ပဲ။ ဤရုပ်တုဘော်များသည်၊ လေးသင်္ချေနှင့်ကမ္ဘာတသိန်းကာလပတ်လုံး၊ ပါရမီတော်ကိုဖြည့်တော်မူ၍၊ သားချစ် မယားချစ်၊ ရူပကာယ ကိုယ်သွေးကိုယ်သားမျက်လုံးသည်းပွတ်တို့ကို၊ ကောင်းလှသောသူတို့ယှဉ်လျှင် လှအိန်းတော်မူ၍၊ ပါရမီများစွာဖြည့်တော်မူပြီးမှ၊ ဘုရားသျှင်အဖြစ်သို့ရောက်တော်မူပါလျှင်၊ ၃၁ ဘုံကိုခန့်ကုန်သော လူနတ်နဂါး သိကြားမြဟာအပေါင်းတို့အား၊ မကောင်းသောအရာက၊ ကောင်းမြတ်သောအရာသို့၊ ကယ်တင်တော်မူ၍၊ ခေတ္တ ၃ ပါးတွင်၊ အကျိုးအကြောင်းကြီးစွာ၊ မအို—မသေ—နိဗ္ဗာန်ရှေ့ပြည်သို့၊ ပို့ဆောင်တော်မူပြီးမှ၊ နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝင်စံတော်မူပါသည်။ ထိုဘုရားသျှင်ကို၊ မဇ္ဈိလိုက်ရသောသူတို့သည်၊ နောင်သံသရာ ကောင်းရာ မြတ်ရာရောက်အောင်၊ ပညာယှဉ်ကြီးတို့၊ သဒ္ဓါသုဏ္ဏာန်တော် ရုပ်ပွားဆင်းတုတော်ပြုလုပ်၍၊ ကိုးကွယ်ပူဇော်ကြရသည်ဖြစ်ပါကြောင်းကို လျှောက်ထားလေ၏။

ဤကဲ့သို့၊ သူဌေးသွီးလျှောက်တင်သောအခါ၊ တိဿမင်းက၊ အံ့ဩစရာတစ်ခုမျှ၊ မြင်ပါရစေမိန့်တော်မူသည်ကို၊ သူဌေးသွီးက အဓိဋ္ဌ နှိပ်၍၊ ဆီမီး ပန်းပေါက်ပေါက်တို့နှင့်လက်အုပ်ချီပြီးလျှင်မြတ်စွာဘုရားသျှင်ကိုယ်စားတော်ဖြစ်သော၊ ရုပ်ပွားဆင်းတုတော် အသျှင်တို့ဘုရားတပည့်တော်မသည်၊ သတ္တဝါတို့ကို၊ ကောင်းရာသို့ ပို့ဆောင်သ သူဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ယခုထုထွန်တို့အမျိုးရှေ့ရှိက် တန်းခိုးဖျာငိုဟာပြတော်မူပါဘုရားဟု ပူဇော်ကံတော့လျှင်၊ ဘုရားသျှင်ရုပ်ပွားတော်မျိုးသည်၊ ဖျာနံဖြင့် ထန်းတဖျားခန့်တက်၍၊ ဖျာနံကြွလာတော်မူသည်ကို၊ မင် နှင့်တကွ လူအပေါင်းတို့မြင်ကြသောအခါ၊ အံ့ဩခြင်းမက၊ ကြီးစွာ အံ့ဩကြပြီးလျှင်၊ ကိုယ်တွင်ပါသော ဝတ်စားတန်ဆာ သည်များကို၊ ပစ်ချ၍ ပူဇော်ကံတော့ကြလေ၏။

လူအပေါင်းတို့ကြည့်သို့ပူဇော်စဉ်၊ ရုပ်ပွားတော် ၁၈ ကောင်းကင်က ဖျံသက်၍၊ မြို့တောင်တောနား၊ နွဲ့က၊ သန့်ရှင်းသောသုံးပုံသို့၊ ကြွတော်မူကြသည်ကို၊ တိဿ မင်းမြင်လျှင်၊ ကြက်သီးထလျက်၊ ကြောက်ရွံ့ခြင်းပြင်းစွာယှဉ်လှသောကြောင့်၊ သက်ဝင်ကြည်ညိုခြင်းသည် အလွန်အမင်းယှဉ်တော်မူလေ၏။

ထိုအခါ၊ သူဌေးသွီးသုတဒ္ဓါကို မိဖုရားကြီးဘင်မြှောက်တော်မူပြီးလျှင်၊ မင်းကြီးနှင့်မိဖုရားသည်၊ ကြွင်းကျန်သောရုပ်ပွားဆင်းတုတော်များကို၊ အလျှင်ပင့်ယူစေ၍၊ မြို့တောင်ရှိက်၊ ဘုရားကျောင်းတော်ခုနစ်ဆောင်ဆောက်လုပ် ရှေ့ဌေ မှမ်းမံ ချယ်လှယ်ပြီးလျှင်၊ ရုပ်ပွားဆင်းတုတော်များကိုတင်ထားကိုးကွယ် ပူဇော်လေသည်။ သုံးပုံတွင်ဖျာနံဖြင့်သက်ဆင်းစက်မှုသော ရုပ်ပွားတော်များကို၊ ၎င်းနေရာတွင်ပင်လျှင်၊ ရွှေဥမင်ဘုရားကျောင်းစေတီ ကြီးစွာအံ့ဩစရာတည်လုပ်၍၊ ပင့်ထားကိုးကွယ်တော်မူလေသည်။ ယင်းသည့်စေတီတက်ကို၊ တသိုင်းဘာသာ ကျိုက်ပေါ်ဟူ၍၊ ခေါ်တွင်လျက် ယခုတိုင်ယှဉ်လေ၏။

ခွန်းစဉ်းအလဇ္ဇီရဟန်းများကို။ တလိုင်းဘာသာ တိဆရာဟု ခေါ်ကြသည်။ ၎င်းတိဆရာတို့သည် မြတ်စွာဘုရားသာသနာတော်ကို ဖျက်သောသူဟူ၍။ ဖမ်းဆီးရမိသူတို့ကို။ မြေတွင်းတူး၍။ မြုပ်သတ်လေသည်။ ကျန်ကြွင်းသောသူတို့ကိုလည်း။ ဖမ်းဆီးပြီးလျှင်။ လည်ပင်းကိုအိုးဆွဲ၍။ ချောင်းတခုနှိုက် ပစ်ချပြီးသေစေလေသည်။ ၎င်းတို့ကိုပစ်ချသေစေသောချောင်းကို။ တလိုင်းဘာသာ (ကြံတီလိုင်) ဟုခေါ်ကြသည်။ ယခုသရော်မှု (တီလိုင်ချောင်း) ဟုခေါ်တွင်လျက်ရှိလေ၏။

တိဿမင်းသည်။ ရတနာသုံးပါးကိုယုံကြည်လျက်။ ရင့်မာသသူဖြစ်သည်ကိုပင်။ မဟုတ်သော အဇ္ဈိရဟန်းတို့ကိုပေါင်းဘက်ပြုမိ၍။ အကျိုးကြီးနည်းရမည်ကို။ နောက်သူဌေးသွီးသူဘုရားနှင့်တွေ့၍။ ပေါင်းယှဉ်မိရသည့်တွင်မှ။ အမှောင်ပျောက်၍။ အလင်းသို့ရောက်ပြီ လျှင်။ သာသနာတော်မြတ်ကို။ ထွန်းလင်းတောက်ပ။ အောင်အထူးသဖြင့် ရွက်ဆောင်တော်မူ လသတည်း။

တိဿမင်းနှင့်။ သုတဒ္ဓါဒေဝီမိဖုရားတို့သည်။ ရွှေကျောင်း။ ရွှေသိမ်။ ရွှေပြင်သာဒ်။ စေတီစုံဦး တည်ထား၍။ မြတ်စွာဘုရားသာသနာတော်ကို အလွန်အမင်းစုံကော် ရွက်ဆောင်ကြလျက်။ အသက်နှင့်အမျှပင်မင်းပြု၍ အနိစ္စဖြစ်ကြကုန်သတည်း။

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

DEPRESSED CLASSES OF BURMA.—*A further note.*

My paper entitled "Depressed Classes of Burma", published in Volume XII Part III of the Society's Journal, when read at the meeting of the Society on the 9th February 1923, provoked a "lively discussion" among the members who attended the meeting. Some of the members expressed their scepticism as to the existence of depressed classes comparable with those of India. As the resolution, passed at that meeting, invited other writers to contribute information on the subject, I may be permitted to vindicate the position taken up by me by a further instalment on the subject.

The Buddhist Dhammathats are my authority for holding the view that there have existed recognised class and caste distinctions in Burma from time immemorial. U Gaung's Digest on the Law of Dhammathat, Section 12 of Volume II, unmistakably gives us the classification. It mentions the royalty as distinct from the ruling class; the ruling class comprising ministers, responsible officers and high officials; the *thate* class (the members whereof held the position by royal appointment); the *thagywe* class; the trading or merchant class; the poor or indigent class. It may be argued that this division is archaic and out of date. I maintain that it was recognised up to the end of the reign of the last Burmese monarch in 1885. The classification cannot therefore be called archaic or out of date. In modern times a new class of people has sprung up; they style themselves (albeit arbitrarily) as *min* or *asoya* (official, literally ruling, class). Government officials, judges, magistrates and lawyers are placed in this category.

While writing this answer to the criticism of the members at the said meeting, I was highly pleased to read the evidence of Mr. P. C. Fogarty, I. C. S., deputy commissioner of Bassein, given before the Crime Inquiry Committee, published in the Rangoon Gazette dated the 7th July 1923. Mr. Fogarty affirmed in strong terms the existence of the last named official class of modern times. He rightly indicted the subordinate Burmese officials as relentlessly unsympathetic to the Burmese cultivator class. His keen observation of the Burmese, his accurate insight into the Burmese nature, his judgment (which is in no way exaggerated) based on his observation and his well founded fear of the future, led him to open up matters of sociological interest deserving of special notice by the Burma Government; in the interests of the future welfare of the country and its people. I would endorse every word he said; and I would quote his evidence in its entirety in support of my contention, as it will express and establish the point at issue much better than I can.

Mr. Fogarty stated :—“To the best of my observation, Burmese of education and well-to-do persons, both official and non-official, are beginning to regard themselves as a class apart from the poorer Burman, so that there is not only a difference of wealth but a growing difference in modes of life and thought, indicated in such matters as intermarriage and social customs generally. If that is so, there is very grave danger in the future. I have noticed that persons of the class of township officers have not shown a really genuine interest in helping their poor brethren. Take a small matter like the distribution of quinine. A number of the townships of the districts I have served in have been badly ravaged in parts by malaria : but I very seldom found an officer who in the least bothered about exercising the very considerable powers of assisting the people which the Government has given him in the matter of free distribution of quinine and so on. They are a separate caste.”

The evidence of U Ba Hlaing, editor of *New Burma*, given before the Crime Inquiry Committee, published in the Rangoon Gazette of the 18th July 1923, also lends support to my statement, and runs as follows :—“The Burman official is under the false and antiquated impression that he is a *min*—a ruler of men—who must be placed far above his fellows. As a *min* he thinks he is of a different caste from his fellows whom he must rule over. As such he does not try to mix with the people whose co-operation he seeks.”

The evidence of Mr. Fogarty and U Ba Hlaing confirms my assertion that there exists the notion of class distinction in Burma : that it is a notion still unconquered by the spirit of toleration : that it tends to divide, and in fact divides, class from class, community from community and family from family. It is undeniable that there are class distinctions in Burma ; but what I have to establish is “the existence of depressed classes in Burma, as comparable with those of India.”

I stated in my paper that the fishermen, barbers, washermen, pagoda slaves, professional beggars, grave diggers and people who follow certain trades and callings such as hunters, butchers, intoxicating drug sellers, actors and midwives, are looked down upon as untouchables : and that they are absolutely debarred from taking any part in all social functions of the respectable classes.

I shall take first the case of the *thinchis*. It is self-evident, from the language of the Government communiqué dated the 25th December 1922 which I incorporated in my paper *verbatim*, (1) that nearly two hundred years have elapsed since the *thinchis* were condemned to this punishment of degradation as pagoda slaves : (2) that for the last two hundred years they have remained in the self-same position : (3) that they were never received into the society of the respectable classes for these two hundred years : (4) that for the last one hundred years during the British rule of Arakan, they have from time to time clamoured for recognition as one of the respectable classes without any result : (5) that

they have given the reason (which is logically, morally and legally, though not sociologically, sound) that it was only their ancestors who were condemned to this punishment: (6) that they, the descendants, should not suffer degradation any more: (7) that their community is a large one: (8) that they own lands: (9) that they are no more in the service of the religious shrines: (10) that they are following their vocations as the rest of the people: (11) that although nearly two hundred years have elapsed their condition is stationary and not improved: (12) that in regard to them the Arakanese as well as the Burmese are conservative to the core: (13) that they have therefore repeatedly sought the interference of the British Government in the matter: (14) that they have at last obtained "consolation" (which term must not be confounded, as it is not synonymous, with "recognition" by the people) in the said Government communiqué which may be accepted at its face value: (15) that there still exists this depressed class in Burma: (16) that these people are still considered as untouchables and not associated with by the respectable classes; (17) that they are therefore absolutely debarred from taking any part in any social function of the respectable classes.

The Government communiqué will be a dead letter for a very long time to come as the people cannot, by any law of the land, be compelled to take these depressed classes into their society. The fusion of the pagoda slaves with the respectable classes is only possible after the complete conversion of the people from their Brahmanic notions and social customs. The stray cases of carefully hidden identity of some of their members, who have severed all connection with their own kith and kin, left their homes and migrated to distant places, are few and far between, for obvious reasons.

Thinchis of Arakan and *paya athes*, *payakyuns* and *khwas* of Burma proper are on the same level with one another. The latter are treated by the Burmese as the former are treated by the Arakanese up to this very day. I have heard of and seen a few cases of *thinchis* and *khwas* who, by trying to hide their identity, live incognito as of the respectable class in some of the large cities of Burma. They are somehow or other known and found out; they are in consequence shunned by the respectable classes. Some of the daughters of these families are very fair, well-educated, well-mannered and well brought up; yet they cannot find husbands from amongst the respectable classes. As their origin is a well-known secret, it is whispered about all over the country.

The *kebas* (professional beggars), grave diggers and monastery slaves are classed together with the *thinchis* and *khwas*. The washermen, midwives and sweepers of Mandalay known as *tha-ngè-daw* (royal children) are of another class; but they are looked down upon as untouchables as their occupation is despised by all orientals, the Burmese not excepted. Because they are conservers of dirt (*anyit'akye: thok thin tho thu mya:*), they are considered unclean bodily. There is also a widespread belief, though not warranted by the scriptures extant, that Lord Buddha

did not accept food from the hands of washermen, barbers, sweepers, grave diggers, prostitutes, midwives and sterile women. The *tha ngè-daw yat* at Mandalay is the quarter assigned to the palace sweepers by the late King Mindon. In Mandalay some of the pagoda slaves dedicated to Mahā Myatmuni, popularly known as the Arakan Pagoda, earn their livelihood as musicians; but they are never known to be engaged at any other ceremonies than funerals. The musical companies are known as *Yakaing-saing*: (from the fact of their being Arakanese *thinchis*).

I shall now proceed to give the reasons why the people who follow certain trades are despised, and why they are not associated with by the respectable classes.

Hunters, butchers, fishermen and dealers in life-destroying implements are considered by the people as great sinners who cannot escape going to the deepest hell as they perpetually infringe the first of the five precepts, strictly enjoined by Lord Buddha. They are for that reason hated and despised, despite the fact that the people, not being strict vegetarians, cannot subsist without them. There is a Burmese saying that it is extremely sinful to earn a living as bee-hunters, butchers, professional adulterers, hunters and fishermen (ပုဂံဝှံးသားတို့၊ ခုခါး၊ ခုခါး၊ ခုခါး၊ ခုခါး၊ ခုခါး), for such cause endless ruin.

As regards the intoxicating drug sellers, they are believed to influence others directly or indirectly to infringe the fifth of the five precepts. It is considered as the most serious offence against the five precepts as it often leads to committing the offences prohibited in the other four precepts.

There is also a widespread knowledge of the teaching of Lord Buddha that there are five kinds of trade which must be eschewed, viz: (1) selling of human beings: (2) selling of live animals for food: (3) selling of life-destroying implements: (4) selling of intoxicants: and (5) earning a livelihood as theatrical performers.

The average Burman, who is not conversant with the modern art of government, is unable to follow the highly sophisticated reasoning why and wherefore the benign British Government could bring itself to legalising and licensing the sale of liquor and opium.

I now come to the vexed question of the actors which afforded much food for discussion and criticism at the last annual meeting.

During the second half of the last century (and perhaps from a much earlier date), actors, actresses and musicians were recruited generally. I would say almost invariably, from amongst the depressed classes of pagoda slaves, beggars and *sandalas*. The beggars made it their business to train their voice as they beg even now by singing. They organised theatrical troupes, marionette companies and musical companies, and used to sail down from Upper to Lower Burma after the Buddhist Lent, in pre-

annexation days, in rowing boats of their own. On the arrival of such a boat at town or village, the troupe had to give its first performance *gratis*, by way of trial. They were not permitted to occupy any house in the town or village, as they were considered as social lepers. They generally camped in *sayats* (public rest houses) or under shady trees. When fed, they were provided with plantain leaves on which the rice cooked is lumped; and the curry poured over the rice. Through fear of pollution, neither plates nor cups used by the townspeople or villagers were supplied. Hence the epithet *phet-kwet-sa*: (eaters from cups made of leaves) came into being. The term is a contemptuous one and used to be applied indiscriminately to all actors, actresses and musicians, irrespective of the fact that some of them were recruited from amongst the poor of the respectable classes. Once the men of the respectable classes joined the theatrical troupes or musical companies, they are counted among the depressed classes.

As times changed and as the profession became more patronised and paying, the people of the respectable classes who considered themselves talented musically, began to join the troupes gradually, in small numbers at first, and in large numbers later. The dawn of the present century saw a somewhat kindlier attitude in the people towards the actor class; but unfortunately the fact remains that people still look down upon them as the lineal descendants of the *phet-kwet-sa*: class who have learnt their art from their untouchable predecessors.

I would therefore maintain that the actors may still be counted among the depressed classes.

MAUNG THA KIN.

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA VOL. I, Pt. I. (Government Press, Rangoon).

It is fitting that the *Epigraphia Birmanica* should open with a scientific study of the famous Myazedi Inscription-pillar, with its four faces written in four languages: Burmese, Pali, Talaing and Pyu. This pillar enjoys the distinction of providing Mr. Blagden with a clue to his studies of Old Talaing and the hitherto unknown Pyu. The date it gives for Kyanzittha, one of the Kings of Pagan, has enabled Mr. Taw Sein Ko to rectify the dates of four successive kings: Anawrahta, Sawlu, Kyanzittha, and Alaungsithu; while the importance it has for philological studies is ably shown by Mr. Duroiselle in his numerous notes.

The question of transliterating Old Burmese is one of peculiar difficulty owing to the transitional stage of the language. Mr. Duroiselle rejects the commonly used phonetic system as being 'a method of practical utility well adapted to official and commercial requirements', and adopts the 'scientific method' of literal transcription, which reproduces, 'the

exact form of the language as it has been fixed in writing'. He is satisfied that the latter method is 'better adapted to our purpose than any phonetic scheme could have been.' The necessity of this literal system is indeed great, and Mr. Duroiselle is to be congratulated on the thoroughness with which he has worked it out. It, at least, has the advantage of preserving the exact forms of those words, whose sounds we do not know for certain. But when Mr. Duroiselle gives the phonetic as well as the literal rendering of those words whose pronunciation is known, it is a pity that he does not follow any well-defined system. On p. 19 ဆဲး is rendered literally as *sun*³, and phonetically as *thon*³. Is the *th* sound as in English *thin* or *then*? Whether it is the one or the other, or both, this *th* sound, which stands for ∞ evidently stands also for ∞ , for on p. 36 ဆဲး is treated literally as *thui*, and phonetically as *tho*. This is clearly a confusion. What Mr. Duroiselle means is that in the former instance *th* is pronounced as the Burmese ∞ (*th*), and in the latter as the Pali ∞ (*ht*). Again the sound *s* serves for စ as in the example ခွန် , *cwan*, pron. *sun* (*u* being sounded as in English *put*) p. 16, and also for ဆ as in the example ဆွဲ , *chui*³, pron *so*³ p. 18. I point out these inconsistencies not from a malicious desire to pick holes, but because I wish to show that they can be avoided by adopting a well-defined system of phonetics, which would render the sounds no less accurately than Mr. Duroiselle's literal system renders the form of words. Such a system has already been worked out by the International Phonetic Association for modern European and Oriental languages including Burmese. It has the advantage of bringing Burmese into line with the other languages and enables foreigners to pronounce Burmese sounds even without knowing the language. For instance in ဆဲးဆဲး (the *thi*) the first ∞ is sounded as in *thin*, and the second as in *then*. And ဆဲး (*hto*) can only be pronounced as in Pali. The phonetic equivalents, being conveniently put in brackets immediately after the words treated, will do away with the necessity of such qualifying phrases as '*e* as in the French *être, prêtre*', '*eu* as in French *peu, peut*', and of printing *pron.* before each case in the book under review. European phoneticians also, being acquainted with the system of transliteration, will come to take an interest in Burmese phonetics. The only new thing they need to study in the present book is Mr. Duroiselle's own system of literal transcription, which as said above is a necessary acquirement. The two systems together will ensure accuracy of sound as well of form in the rendering of words, which are capable of being treated both phonetically and literally. A scientific undertaking, such as the *Epigraphia Birmanica* is, might use the International Phonetic system with advantage in the phonetic transcriptions of words, as Mr. Duroiselle uses his own system in the literal transcriptions.¹

¹ A plea for the International Phonetic System has already been made by Mr. Grant Brown in JBRs, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 57-61. If the System does not meet with our approval, it is our duty to make suggestions for improvements.

To touch on a few points as regards the translations: In verse 4 of the Pali stanzas (p. 49) Mr. Duroiselle translates: 'He had a beloved queen—skilled in all the affairs of the king,' taking *rājino* together with *sabbakiccesu*. But surely *rājino* goes with *Tass'* and is put at the end of the verse for metrical reasons. A better translation would be 'The king had a beloved queen—skilful in all (her) duties'. In verse 9 *mahanāṃ guṇa-sañcayam*, which means 'a great heap of favours' is too freely rendered by 'numerous and great favours'. Likewise in verses 12 and 19 'image' and 'attaining Supreme Enlightenment' are too free for *munindassa* and *sabbāññutaññapaṭivedha*, which mean 'lord of sages' and 'penetration of omniscience'. These are examples of faulty translation in an otherwise scholarly work. Mr. Duroiselle attains a higher level of accuracy in his study of the Burmese face. He has on the whole done a splendid piece of work. He has made a scholarly study of the Burmese and Pali faces of the Inscription. His notes are suggestive and his list of Old Burmese words is very useful. He has compared Burmese words with a host of words from the dialects and neighbouring languages, and has thus indicated the lines on which future research should be conducted.

Mr. Blagden is responsible for the interpretation of the Talaing, and Pyu faces. Mr. Blagden himself is the best judge of his work on the Pyu, a language he has rescued from total oblivion. He admits that his translation is tentative and hopes to revise it when further materials are forthcoming. Greater interest attaches to the Old Talaing, for which there are more materials. This language belongs to a different group of languages from the Burmese as shown by its formation of words by means of infixes. Remarks on this language may be reserved for a subsequent paper. Suffice it to say that Mr. Blagden's work is distinguished by his usual scholarship. Those who are mindful of the importance of antiquarian studies in Burma will appreciate the great service done to Burmese scholarship by Mr. Duroiselle and Mr. Blagden, who, by bringing out this volume, have paved the way to that rich field of research, the inscriptions.

P. M. T.

"THE EXPOSITOR (ATTHASALINI): BUDDHAGHOSA'S COMMENTARY ON THE DHAMMASANGANI, THE FIRST BOOK OF THE ABHIDHAMMA PITAKA, VOL. II. Translated by MAUNG TIN, M. A., Edited and Revised by MRS. RHYS DAVIDS, D. LITT., M. A. Published by the PALI TEXT SOCIETY, LONDON, Price 10s. net.

This book is the continuation and completion of the translation of Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammasangani, done into English by Maung Tin of University College, Rangoon, and edited and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids, of which the first volume appeared in 1921. In its main lines it consists of a running comment on the text of the first book of the Abhidhamma or philosophy section of the Buddhist Scriptures, and its aid can hardly be dispensed with by any one desirous of studying that book and gaining a correct idea of its contents. In this

second volume, the comment is a very swift-running one indeed, for, whereas the first volume with its 280 odd pages only covered some sixty pages of the Pali Text Society's edition of the Dhammasangani, this second volume within the compass of its 250 pages only, disposes of all the remaining 260 pages of the Text commented on.

It begins with a section of some interest, namely with a "Discourse on the Transcendental," that is, upon what is *lokuttara* (literally, *beyond-the-world*), which the translator quite correctly in the body of his text translates as "supramundane," the term *lokiya* (literally, *worldly*) being translated "mundane." However, the reader influenced by accidental associations of the word "transcendental", who expects to find in these pages something rapt and vague and dim, a cloud of phraseology, loftily indecisive, will be disappointed. There are indeed "raptures" in Buddhism, but they are sober, not drunken raptures; and the Buddhist as a rule prefers not to speak of them overmuch. He prefers to reserve all his energy for the doing of them. Also Buddhist "mysticism" is never *misty-ism*. Despite its title, this Discourse remains very sober, very clear, very matter-of-fact. It soars off into no immense inane. *More buddhistico*, it keeps its feet securely on the ground, even if its face is lifted to the far-off stars. It treats of transition from the *lokiya* to the *lokuttara* mind as a sober science, to be soberly studied and followed up in practice until the moment arrives when the thing is done, and the practitioner actually makes the passage through the stages of the successive "insights" of "adaptation" (*anuloma*) and "adoption" (*gotrabhu*; literally, *becoming of the family* [of the Ariyas]), on to the vision of the moon of Nibbana, now no longer concealed from him by the clouds of his infirmities and failings. This is a great work, the greatest man can do, and demands the most arduous labour successfully to accomplish, even in the case of an already highly developed man. We are here told of Mahāmoggallāna, one of the two chief disciples of the Buddha, his "left hand" as Sāriputta was called his "right hand," that while he was engaged on this labour, his Master himself for seven days looked after him "as though he were a little child"; and when he would have fallen asleep for sheer weariness, with chiding and remonstrance recalled him to renewed activity: "Moggallāna, Moggallāna, do you drowse with heavy eyelids, O brahmin!" It does not comport with the sober, scientific tone of the Commentary to dwell much on the emotional reactions of this transcendental achievement: for these we must look elsewhere, to the Therī and Theragāthā, the "Psalms of the Sisters" and "Brothers." Yet it has to record that this achievement is accompanied by joy, and indicates one main source of that joy in the statement that by the transition from worldly to beyond-the-world consciousness, all evil things at one stroke are cut off, whereas we painful plodders in the vale of the common man's pursuit of excellence, only overcome them, when we do overcome, one by one. Yet the Buddhist system of spiritual training is not one of the pursuit of common morality merely. Its final, fundamental aim is the purification of the mind; that accomplished, all good things

follow, of necessity, because they cannot help but do so. It is here said of the *Anāgāmi*, of the man (or woman) who is done with earth-life for ever, that he has sons and daughters, but that "sons and daughters are the result of the mere exercise of bodily functions," the lower nature in him, not any the less, having become "very weak and attenuated in form, like a film of cloud or a fly's wing."

As always, so here, Buddhaghosha shows himself a complete master of his subject—and not it of him, as so often is the case with lesser men—by the skilful, excellently varied similes and parables where-with he illustrates and lights up his treatise, making clear the intricate mental processes he is describing, by apt comparisons with ordinary village events like the falling of a mango from a tree upon a man sleeping beneath it, the finding of a coin in the dusty village street by a playing boy, a fly being caught in a spider's web, and the now universally well-known one of the lame but seeing man being borne about on the shoulders of the blind but sound-limbed man, whereby both achieve their ends, this last comparison being intended to illustrate the relations of mind and body.

After the section on the Transcendental there follow sections on "Immoral Consciousness" and on what the translator calls "Unmoral Consciousness," but which surely were better called "Neutral" or "Indeterminate Consciousness," since the Pali *ayākatā* clearly bears that meaning. Then comes a chapter on "The Four Great Essentials," more familiarly known as the "elements" Earth, Water, Fire, and Air, but which in *Abhidhamma* are understood as the forces respectively of Extension or Impenetrability, Cohesion, Heat, and Motion, all four of which "elements" enter in unequal proportion into the composition of all forms of matter, the predominating proportion of one or the other of them in any given substance, determining the nature of that substance as solid, liquid, gaseous, or etheric. On this follows another chapter on the secondary forms of these primary elements. And the last hundred pages of the book are taken up with a very rapid summary of matter largely dealt with in other Commentaries from the same hand, in the course of which the good Buddhaghosha, after his manner, and as elsewhere, from time to time explains the derivation and meaning of this and the other technical term with an aim obviously more careful of edification than of accuracy!

The English of this volume is as good as that of its predecessor, and could only be improved and made a little clearer in some slightly ambiguous passages by a closer attention to punctuation, a more liberal resort to commas. The use of the word "purgatory" on several pages may be just permissible, albeit the word is a technical term of only one branch of the religion of the western world, the very existence of any fact corresponding to the word being denied by others. But "perdition" on page 290 is hardly satisfactory as a rendering of the Pali term, since, thus baldly set down, it suggests revolting ideas of *eternal* torment, of *total* loss, ideas utterly alien to the sound logic of Buddhist thought, no less than to the whole spirit of Buddhist feeling.

The book cannot fairly be dismissed without mention of the numerous references to, and subsidiary quotations from, other Pali literature, contained in the informing notes from the pens of both translator and editor, evidence of their wide reading in that literature. Like its predecessor, in its general excellence this volume once again proves, if proof still were needed, that the ideal method of translating any Oriental classic into an Occidental tongue lies in the collaboration of an Occidental and an Oriental translator,—may we say, of two such competent intermediaries, each at their own end of the bridge, as Mrs. Rhys Davids, and Pe Maung Tin.

S.

“THE PATH OF PURITY”, BEING A TRANSLATION OF BUDDHAGHOSA'S VISUDDHI-MAGGA, by PE MAUNG TIN. PART I—OF VIRTUE (ORS MORALS). Published by the PALI TEXT SOCIETY, LONDON. Price 10 sh. Net.

One of the great books of the world, albeit the world as a whole does not yet think so, is the Visuddhimagga or “Path of Purity” (perhaps more correctly, “Path to the Pure”) of Buddhaghosha. It is one of the world's great books because it aims to give, and does succeed in giving, within the compass of one volume, a complete conspectus of the entire mighty field of Buddhist ethics, mental training, and philosophy and psychology, which else the student has to seek for through many volumes of almost bewildering variety and amplitude. To the sceptical mind there is some ground for doubt if it actually is the work of one particular individual, Buddhaghosha. So many voluminous commentaries of profound and varied content bear this name as author, that it seems impossible that one man, with only a single pair of hands, in one lifetime could have found the time required to do the mere pen-work of them, to say nothing of thinking out and arranging their complicated matter. It seems much more likely that Buddhaghosha is in his own *métier* a sort of earlier Oriental Raphaël who looked over, touched up here and there, and finished off and set his name to, works written under his direction and inspiration by pupils, through his instruction become almost as able as their master. It is the case that in the ancient schools of Sanskrit learning many writers of one given school, with a self-effacement which we of this over-individualised generation are scarcely fitted to comprehend, still less properly to appreciate, were content to let their own individual name remain in obscurity, and to affix to all they wrote the name simply of the head of their school. They are as men who should say to us: “Here is a tune, but it is not of our making. We are only the flute upon which it has been played,” and would seem to be quite happy to be such flutes. It is very likely that the same fine spirit prevailed in the early schools of Buddhist lore, even in Buddhaghosha's day almost a thousand years after the death of the Founder of that Lore; and that the name of Buddhaghosha was appended to all works written by pupils of

the school of Buddhistical exegesis at whose head he at that time stood. Some such theory is more than a little countenanced by the fact that there exists in a Chinese version, of which the Pali original has completely disappeared, another commentarial work of a much earlier date, called the *Vimuttimaggā* or "Path of Freedom," which bears a very close resemblance, not only in its title, but also in its general style and arrangement, to the *Visuddhimaggā*, so that the latter may very well be, as has been suggested by some, merely a revised and improved version of the earlier work.

But however all this may be, the *Visuddhimaggā* as we have it to-day, did no other work on its subject exist, would still suffice to provide the modern enquirer into Buddhist doctrine and practice with a fully adequate outline of the object of his enquiry. It is therefore very satisfactory that at last a beginning has been made in rendering such an important work accessible to readers of English. It is Pe Maung Tin of Rangoon University who has taken upon himself this onerous labour; and a slim volume of some hundred pages, published by the Pali Text Society, being No. 11 in its Translation Series, represents the first instalment he has accomplished of his task. It comprises the first two chapters of the book, being the section devoted to the first division of the threefold classification of Buddhist Teaching into Virtue or Morals, Mind Training, and Wisdom or Insight.

In a certain sense Buddhism may be regarded as an ascetic's religion, the Bhikkhu being the only real "Buddhist," and in his person mediating the Buddha's teaching to the layfolk in a reduced form adapted to the mode of life of the latter. Hence we find these two chapters on *Sīla* or Virtue exclusively taken up with morals as these apply to a Bhikkhu. As says the very stanza which opens the whole discourse and constitutes as it were its "text," it is the Bhikkhu (here translated 'brother') who pisenangles this tangle of conditioned existence in which all creatures living are entangled; and it is with his first steps towards disentanglement, namely through the practice of virtue, that the ensuing discourse deal in minute detail. And it is interesting to note that a doctrine which is generally regarded as the characteristic mark of what is called *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, to wit the aim at the emancipation of all beings, here in Buddhaghosha's pages finds definite formulation in a passage where, defining the different kinds of virtue as inferior, middling, and superior, he in set words declares: "That virtue of the perfections which arises [the original Pali word here *pavattati*, could equally well be rendered by 'runs its course'] for the sake of the emancipation of all beings, is 'superior'"; virtue practised without clear consciousness of what one is about, out of compliance with convention, as we of to-day would say, or from vanity or self-pride, or for the sake of worldly welfare, being declared to be 'inferior.' Yet the Bhikkhu is not to remain content with mere morality. He must not stop at the stage of merely being good. He must pass on, and develop and transmute his virtue into insight, penetration, else he is

a 'stagnant one.' So the exposition of Virtue proceeds, being pleasantly diversified, as so often happens in commentarial literature of this kind, by one or two of those naive little tales about Theras or Elders who manifested in their own persons shining examples of the virtue under discussion, or, as may also sometimes happen, by a story, as warning example, about some other less perfect member of the Order who conspicuously broke the virtue enjoined.

The second chapter treats of the thirteen Dhutangas or ascetic practices which the Buddha, when asked to do so by some zealous disciples, declined to make a binding Rule upon the members of his Order, but permitted any Bhikkhu to bind upon himself, who wished to do so for the sake of self-discipline, or in order to overcome some weakness in his character. They range from such simple forms of austerity as a vow to own only one set of robes, those actually in use, or to sustain the body solely upon food put into the begging bowl when upon the round for alms, up to the rather hard practice of living continually in the open without even the shelter of a tree, or of never taking sleep save in a sitting posture. An explanation of the method of observing each practice is given in detail together with a statement of the advantages obtained by the observing Bhikkhu in his increased detachment of spirit, freedom of mind, and liberation from care about many wants.

Of the English rendering of these two chapters it may be said that their translator here again shows the same facility found in his other translation work. Of awkward phrases, smelling rather of the language translated from, than of that translated into—a common fault in many translations from an Oriental into an Occidental tongue—there are few or none here. The English goes forward in plain easy fashion touched now and then with just a pleasant tang of the original. Only one or two lapses may be noted, though we understand that the translator is not wholly to blame for them, having in a manner taken them over from another hand. Thus, in the opening stanza, the word "disembroil" is used as an intransitive verb, which of course it is not, a fault that grates on the ear more in verse than it would in prose; and on page 23, "looking above, down," and so on, would read better as "looking up, down," and so on. On page 70, why should not the Pali *devadattiyam* be translated just as what it is, "deva-given," or "spirit-given"? On page 85 however, there is a rather unfortunate rendering of the Pali *devatāhi sahaṇāsītā* as "intercourse with tree-deities"; for the advantage a Bhikkhu obtains by living at the foot of a tree, which is what the Text is speaking of, is not anything more *déshonnête* than the *company* merely of the hamadryads, or, to coin a word literally exact to the Pali, their "co-dwellership." A final error, to be found at the foot of page 88, seems due to some mischievous imp—a printer's Deva, if not devil—who has managed to get placed in exactly reverse order every word except the initial one in the last line of the verse passage, completely spoiling its scanion though not its sense.

It is greatly to the credit of the translator that there are so few slips or infelicities in this his first essay at rendering into English the Pali of the Visuddhimagga, for it is by no means easy to understand. One who with the help of a commentary can make fairly good going of Sutta Pali, in Buddhaghosha's pages here, finds himself constantly baffled by words he never saw before and by long, elaborate, involved sentences. This is hardly to be wondered at, since a good many centuries of development separate the language of the one from that of the other. Pe Maung Tin generously acknowledges the help he has received in performing his own task from consultation of a Burmese translation of the work and Burmese sub-commentaries. But even so, he has had a difficult piece of work to do, and has done it well. Taking these first pages as sample, the completion of that task is something to look forward to with pleasurable anticipation, and confidence that the great Buddhaghosha's greatest work will be presented to English readers, when complete, in a dress worthy of its long and high renown in Buddhist lands.

S.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, XI^e SERIE, TOME XX, Nos. 1, 2 (July-December 1922.)

For those who wish to see early Burmese history in proper perspective, these numbers are of importance, for they contain M. Gabriel Ferrand's "*L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrīvijaya*" (pp. 1-104, 161-244). Scholars are not likely to accept without dispute *all* of Ferrand's identifications; indeed, in a series of articles beginning with Deel 77, 1921, of the *Bijdragen*, Dr. G. P. Rouffaer combats a number of his earlier theories¹. But there can be little doubt that, in the main, Ferrand's conclusions will be accepted, developing, as they do, the earlier work of Coedès, Krom, Vogel and Blagden. The starting-point of Ferrand's work was clearly Coedès' brilliant article "*Le Royaume de Çrīvijaya*" (*B.E.F.E.O.* t. XVIII, 1918, No. 6), in which the greatness of the old Sumatran kingdom of Palembang begins to assume its just proportions. Ferrand has now assembled an array of nearly a hundred texts—Chinese, Old Malay, Sanskrit, Pali, Tamil, Old Javanese, Arab, Persian, Cambodian and Siamese—referring, under various names, to this kingdom and its dependencies, and his thesis (p. 3) is as follows:—

It is, one may say, the current opinion that Java has been the home and centre of expansion of Indian civilisation in the East Indies. It appears, on the contrary, that this honour must be ascribed to the Sumatran Empire of Çrīvijaya, which is proved by texts and inscriptions to have possessed a high degree of culture and incontestable supremacy, political, military and naval during the first millenium of our era. Still mistress of an immense territory

1. Students who do not read Dutch, will find a summary of Rouffaer's first article in Dr. R. O. Winstedt's "*Early History of Singapore, Johore and Malacca*."—*J.A.R.S.*, Straits Branch, No. 86, November 1922).

in the 13th century, the empire collapses under the defeats inflicted on it by the Javanese in the metropolis, by the Thai of Sukhodaya in its possessions on the Malay Peninsula, and in consequence of defeats sustained in two expeditions against Ceylon.

That Java, in the past, should have usurped the credit properly belonging to Sumatra, is not surprising; for not only were the names of the two islands almost indistinguishable, but the magnificence of the remains of Hindu-Javanese architecture and sculpture—unequalled, not merely in Sumatra, but throughout Further India—was bound to prejudice the case from the outset. It is true that the archaeological survey of Central and Northern Sumatra cannot yet be said to have approached completeness; but one must confess that the remains so far found are disappointing¹. It is strange that a rich country, so long the centre of Indian culture in the Far East, should have no extant architecture to compare with that of Mison, Diëng, Angkor or Pagan—unless, indeed, the climate of Palembang can account for its almost total disappearance. From an under-estimate, therefore, of the importance of Sumatra, nothing could save us but a keen survey of all available texts, and, based on this, an accurate identification of place-names. This is what Ferrand has attempted; and he finds that the Chinese Shih-li-fo-shih, Fo-shih, and San-fo-ch'i:² the Sanskrit (and old Malay) Çri Vijaya: the Tamil Kaṭāra and Jāvaka: the Arab Sri Buza and Zābag: and the old Javanese Sam Boja—all refer to one empire or its capital, situated at or near the modern Palembang. On this basis he proceeds to sketch its history, of which the following summary must suffice:—

The first reference to Sumatra (Yavadvīpa and its gold mines) is in the Rāmāyaṇa, dating from about the beginning of the Christian era. At about this time Madagascar and the coastal regions of east Africa were colonised by Hinduised settlers from Sumatra. In 132 A.D. is the first mention of an embassy (? from Sumatra) to China; in the same century the gold and fertility of "Iabadiou" is noted by Ptolemy. In 414 Fa-hsien, returning from Ceylon to China, spent five months on the island, finding "heretical brahmans" there very numerous, and Buddhist "a negligible quantity". In 644 Jambi (Mo-lo-yü, Malāyu), north of

1. Readers who wish to pursue the subject should refer to Ferrand's bibliography on pp. 1, 2. In addition to this, see J. W. Yzerman's "Beschrijving van de Boeddhistische Bouw werken te Moera Takoes", Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde (Batavian Society) Deel XXXV 1893; P. V. Van Stein Callenfels' "Rapport over een Dienstreis door een Deel van Sumatra", Oudheidkundig Verslag 1920 2nd quarter (Albrecht & Co., Weltevreden); the now-incomplete list of Sumatran inscriptions in Oudheidkundig Verslag 1912, 2nd quarter pp. 32—52; ditto, 1914, 2nd quarter pp. 104-138 for a general list of Sumatran antiquities; photographs Nos. 1499-1501, 1631-1649 of the Dutch Archaeological Department; and finally L. C. Westenenk's "De Hindoe-Javanen in Midden en Zuid Sumatra", Handelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Java (Albrecht, 1921). The last contains a list of dates of early Sumatran history and a map of the old Hindu settlements thickly spread from the latitude of the river Siak down to Kroe in the far south. (There were, of course, other settlements in the north, both on the east and west coasts). Photographs would seem to shew that Sumatran temples, particularly in their p'inth mouldings, shew a closer resemblance to those of Pagan than to those of Java.

2. English transcriptions of Chinese characters are here given.

Palembang, first sends an embassy to China; Palembang follows suit in 670, and sends missions regularly till 741. Between 671 and 693 I-tsing spent as many as 8½ years here, and his account is invaluable. We gather that Jambi has now passed under the sway of Palembang. There were more than a thousand studious Buddhist monks of the Mūlasarvāstivādin (Sanskrit Hīnayāna) school, with books and discipline exactly as in India. Here I-tsing studied Sanskrit, and advises other Chinese monks to do the same "for a year or two" before proceeding to India; he also studied old Malay, his example being followed by several other Chinese pilgrims. At this time Palembang was a thriving port, on the main trade route, says Chau Ju-kua, between Arabia, Quilon (S.W. India) and China. Its chief exports appear to have been camphor, cloves, aloes, musk, sandalwood, ivory, pearls, tortoiseshell, gold, silver, tin, areca nuts, and all kinds of spices and perfumes. Its populousness is quaintly attested by Arab merchants (early 10th century) who state that the first barndoor cock who crows in the morning is answered continuously by other cocks over a distance of 400 miles. It was also in the 8th century a formidable power. In 686 it invaded Central Java, then at its artistic prime; a century later, under the Çailendra dynasty, it was in steady control, it seems, of the west and centre of that island. In 775 its influence was paramount up to the borders of Tenasserim; and perhaps about the same period it effected a lightning conquest of Cambodia. From 904 onwards embassies to China are resumed. In 990 we first hear of the Javanese invading Palembang, but 17 years later Palembang in turn invades Java and destroys king and capital. From the 11th century relations with S. India become important (for centuries, of course, there had been contact, not merely with S. India, but also with Nepal and Kashmir); for a time vassal to the Cholas, it becomes later, for a time, their overlord. During the last quarter of the 13th century its empire finally collapses, as described above.

It is hardly necessary to stress the bearing of all this on Burmese history. The recent discoveries of Old Malay inscriptions—not all, it seems, definitively edited, though this is only a matter of time—have enlarged our horizon. We must take in Madagascar on the west, and probably look eastward no less far. It seems that as mere exploits, apart from their historical significance, the voyages of Columbus or Vasco di Gama will have to yield the palm to those of the Hinduised Malays at the beginnings of our era. Thaton can claim no longer, all for itself, the proud title of the Land of Gold. The term, *Suvarṇabhūmi*, is found (see p. 180) in an Old Malay inscription dated 1286 A.D., and is there applied, more appropriately, to Sumatra; *Suvarṇadvīpa*, also, and *Suvarṇapura* appear elsewhere in a similar sense.

One name applied to the Malays by the Chinese seems to have been *Po-ssü*, a term usually reserved for Persia; but Ferrand, in an interesting review of Laufer's *Sino-Iranica* (*Journal Asiatique*, t. XVIII No. 2, Oct-Dec. 1921 pp. 270-293), shows that this sometimes does not suit, and proceeds to discuss other identifications. He debates at length the claims of *Bassein* (though this name would appear to be a Burmese corruption (?))

of Kusimanagara¹, but decides finally in favour of Pasé, in the north of Sumatra. The data are worth summarising. In 742 Kanshin, a Japanese Buddhist priest, observes that "in the river of Canton there are innumerable vessels belonging to the people of P'ò-lo-mên, of Po-ssü, and of K'un-lun." In 860, according to the Man Shu, at a place called Ta-yin-k'óng, apparently a silver mine on the Gulf of Siam, the people of P'ò-lo-mên, Po-ssü, Shê-p'ò (Java) and P'ò-ni (Borneo) come to do trade. The Nan-Chao Yeh-Shih states that in 1103 P'iao, Po-ssü and K'un-lun offered white elephants and perfumes. Finally, the Man Shu says that "the P'iao country...adjoins Po-ssü and P'ò-lo-mên; on the west, however, its frontier is at the town of Shê-li" (provisionally identified with Çriksetra, or old Prome). Ferrand argues at length in favour of the phonetic equivalence, here, of P'ò-lo-mên and Mramā (Burma), instead of the usual equation P'ò-lo-mên = Brahmana, *sc.* India. Po-ssü, in the last extract from the Man Shu, would suit Bassein; but, from a list of Po-ssü numerals—obviously Malay—given in the Japanese Memoirs of Ōye no Tadafusa (early 12th century), he decides that it usually, at least, refers to Pasé in Sumatra. For the vexed question of the identity of the K'un-lun, see Ferrand's important work, "Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les mers du sud" (Journal Asiatique, 1919, t. XIII pp. 239-333, 431-492; t. XIV pp. 5-68, 201-241). His conclusions on this head are summed up on pp. 320-1:—

On the continent, K'un-lun territory extends from Champa to Burma, including the Malay Peninsula. But the inhabitants of Palembang and of Java are also K'un-lun, and such is the name of the language spoken there. I have said already that by "the K'un-lun language" in Sumatra and Java, we must understand Kawi; now Old Javanese is closely allied to Cham, Khmer and Talaing; Edouard Huber has already noted this (B.E.F.E.O., t. X, 1910, p. 625). We have seen that the continental K'un-lun territory of the Chinese is the old Cham-Khmer-Môn kingdom; in the island kingdoms of K'un-lun tongue, the Kawi, there used, is near akin to the languages of the continental K'un-lun. Moreover the physical, cultural and ethnographic type of the Hinduised Indonesians of Sumatra and Java is fairly closely allied—still more so in the 7th century than later—to the Hinduised Cham, Khmer and Talaing type of the same period..... To sum up, the Chinese employed the term K'un-lun, much as we employ that of *Latin* or *Slav*, to designate peoples whom they thought ethnically and linguistically allied, and who, in fact, were so to a greater or less extent."

Another passage, in the New T'ang History (ch. 222. C. Section on P'iao) has an important bearing on the southern connections of the P'iao. It is an itinerary from P'iao to Shê-p'ò (Java), and it is worth examining in some detail. It has been translated and briefly discussed by Pelliot (B.E.F.E.O., t. IV, pp. 222-4), and I have seen translations also by Parker and Waley. The rendering given below is my own, but I mention any important variations:—

"From Mi-ch'ên you reach K'un-lang. Again there is a Little K'un-lun tribe. The king is called Mang-hsi-yüeh. The customs are the same as at

1. On this point, see Mr. Fraser's interesting letter—J.B.R.S. Vol. XII, Part III, p. 165.

Mi-ch'ên. From K'un-lang you reach Lu-yü, where is the kingdom of the Great K'un-lun king. The king is called Ssü-li-po-p'o-nan-to-shan-na. The river-plain is larger than at Mi-ch'ên. From the dwelling place of the Little king of K'un-lun, in half a day you reach the stockade of Mò-ti-p'o. After a five months' sea-journey you reach the kingdom of Fo-tai, where are 360 river-branches. The king is called Ssü-li-hsieh-mi-t'a. There is a river, called Ssü-li-p'i-li-jui. The country has many rare perfumes. To the north, there is a mart where the trading junks of all the kingdoms gather. Cross the sea, and you reach Shê-p'o. In a 15 days' journey you cross two big mountains, one called Chêng-mi and the other Shê-t'i. There is a kingdom whose king is called Ssü-li-mo-ho-lo-shê. The customs are the same as at Fo-tai. Cross the To-jung-pu-lo river, and you reach Shê-p'o. After 8 days' journey you reach the kingdom of P'o-hui-ch'ieh-lu."

We know, from the Man Shu ch. 10, that Mi-ch'ên was on the sea-coast: that the inhabitants called their chieftain *shou*: and that they had black short faces. They seem to have been sometimes subject to P'iao, but in 805 A. D., and in 862 according to Ma Tuan-lin (ch. 330 Section on P'iao), they sent independent embassies to the court of China. Pelliot thinks they were at the mouth of the Irrawaddy, and possibly Talaing. The mouth of the Sittang is perhaps rather more probable, as being on the main route from Prome to Mo-ti-p'o, which Pelliot (doubtfully) identifies with Martaban. Pegu and Thaton would naturally lie on the line of route. But Mang-hsi-yüeh (old pronunciation: *Mang-sit-vat*, according to Waley) sounds more like a Burmese than a Talaing (or Pyu) name. Martaban certainly seems a likely port from which to set sail for Java. The voyage of 5 months (to Fo-tai) seems long; Pelliot thinks it a mistake for *days*. If so, the mistake must be an old one, for all the texts I have seen or heard of, read *months*. It all depends, of course, on where we place Fo-tai. Apparently it is a 15 days' land-journey from Java, but you can also go by sea. There is a king, and even a river, with Sanskrit names; and the river has 360 branches. (This surely is the most natural rendering—I follow Parker. If we read, with Pelliot, "a river branch which flows for 360 (*li*)," it is strange that *li* should be omitted; besides, a river branch some 70 miles long is not very remarkable, while a river in this part of the world with 360 branches is so extraordinary as perhaps to have driven Pelliot to seek some other explanation). The difficulty, I think, resolves itself if we can identify Fo-tai with Fo-shih or Fo-ch'i, i.e. Palembang. The neighbourhood, as Marsden has noted, is one of the best watered spots in the world. As a great centre of Indian colonisation, its chief river would naturally bear an Indian name. (The final character, *jui*, Waley suspects to be a mistake, as one would not expect it in a Sanskrit name). The time assigned to the voyage is not perhaps excessive, considering that it appears to have been a little-used route, and probably small boats were employed, stopping at all ports on the way. Anyhow we know from I-tsing (v. Chavannes, *Les Religieux éminents*, p. 144) that it took Wou-hing a month to sail from Palembang to Kedah, and this was on the main trade-route between India and China.

The equation, Fo-tai = Fo-ch'i, is of course a difficulty, but not perhaps insuperable (Parker's text has apparently a different character for the

second syllable, for he reads Fuh-fah. All the other texts I know, read Fo-tai). Perhaps it represents a P'iao pronunciation, unfamiliar to the Chinese, who got their usual name from the Seas of the South. Possibly it is a dialectal variation, as is commonly the case with *t* and *ch* today (e.g. English 'tea' is from Fukienese *te*, which is *ch'a* in Mandarin). The difference of vowel seems not unnatural when we reflect that all these Chinese names represent the Sanskrit Vijaya. However, it is for better Chinese scholars than the present writer to decide whether the equivalence here suggested is tenable.

What follows, seems to be an account of alternative routes to Java. (i) By sea. This would start from the thriving port north of Palembang, probably at the mouth of the Palembang river, where I-tsing embarked in 689 (v. Chavannes, *op. cit.* p. 176). (ii) By land, a fifteen days' journey, to the river (Pelliot: *valley*) of To-jung-pu-lo (Pelliot: = Tanjongpura, or "cape-town"). The name is a common one, and would naturally apply to a port in the extreme south, affording the shortest sea-passage across the Sunda strait—which the writer here seems to think not worth mentioning. My map of Southern Sumatra shows a range of mountains immediately behind Tandjoengkarang on the coast. Perhaps here Mts. Chêng-mi and Shê-t'i are to be sought. The kingdom hereabouts, with its king Çrī Mahārāja, offers some difficulty. For it is odd that a kingdom, apparently independent, though friendly and with similar customs, with a king so titled, should exist so near Palembang. One suspects a confusion; for the king of Palembang, was known *par excellence* as Sri Mahārāja (v. Ferrand's texts, *passim*), so much so that the whole island became known to the Arabs as "the Mahārāja's Island." Possibly the same king was known as Çrī Svamitra in the capital, and Çrī Mahārāja in the provinces. (If the itinerary is contemporary with the main notice of the P'iao, the period referred to is about 800 A.D., when Palembang was at its zenith. But one must confess that it comes in rather awkwardly into the account of the P'iao, so it may well be a later insertion, previous to 1060, when the New T'ang History was completed). The goal of the journey is P'o-hui-ch'ieh-lu, identified by Pelliot with P'o-lu-chia-ssü, port of Surabaya, to which the Javanese king Kiyen transported his capital, as a result, it seems, of the Sumatran conquest of Central Java.

Several of these names re-appear in the list of P'iao dependencies given in the New T'ang History. Thus Mi-ch'ên, K'un-lang, Fo-tai and Shê-p'o are given among the 18 dependent kingdoms, and Lu-yü and Mo-ti-p'o among the 32 most important of the 298 settlements. Probably Pelliot is right in regarding the inclusion of Shê-p'o (Java: and I would add also Fo-tai, if I am right in identifying it with Palembang) as an empty boast, for amongst the other "dependent kingdoms" are mentioned Çrā-vasti and Champa (probably the Indian Champa, south of the Ganges).¹

1. I leave open the bare possibility of this Champa being the present Sampanago (Champa nagara) in Upper Burma. What troubles one in this 'tall' list of P'iao dependencies, is not that the P'iao gave it, but that the Chinese apparently 'swallowed' it, — when, in the case of Shê-p'o at all events, they must have known better.

So far as I am aware, no Chinese account of the P'iao contains any reference to P'iao ships or sea-trade. They may have exercised some sort of suzerainty over the Talaings¹ (and Burmans and Malays?) on the coast, but if we might assume that they were cut off at an early date from the sea, it would explain a number of things we know about them, e.g. their conservative character as evidenced both in the script of the "Pyu" inscriptions and in the Chinese account of their music. If such was the case, history has repeated itself many times in Burma; the ceaseless struggle between a coastal people with leanings toward sea-trade, and a slightly more vigorous land-power in the interior, has all along been her bane, effectually defeating the ambitions of both.

G. H. L.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1922 (4 VOLS), 1923 (3 VOLS).

Several reviews etc. in these numbers are of interest to us in Burma. In the January 1922 number is a flattering review (pp. 107-9) by Sir George Grierson of Mrs. Milne's "Elementary Palaung Grammar" (1921 Clarendon Press), and another (pp. 127-132) by Mrs. Bode, (authoress of the "Pali Literature of Burma")—written, it appears, very shortly before her death—on Maung Tin's translation (vol. 1) of the *Atthasālini* (P. I. S., Oxford University Press 1920).

The January 1923 volume has a review (pp. 120-1) by Mr. Grant Brown on the J. B. R. S. 1921 vol. XI Part 1. The writer asks for information about the Tagaung chronicle, part of which is translated in that number. This is now provided in Maung Tin's introduction to the translation of the Glass Palace Chronicle (Clarendon Press 1923). It may be pointed out that the translation of the Tagaung Chronicle was originally intended as an appendix to this volume, but this idea was given up, together with that of adding notes, for reasons of expense. Mr. Grant Brown wishes Mr. Stewart had included the Môn originals of the songs he translated; typographic difficulties prevented this at the time, but these are not now, I think, insurmountable. The final words of the review deserve quoting: "The Journal can perform no more useful function than the recording of valuable literature, which now exists only in the memories of the people and may soon be lost for ever." Will not some of our Talaing scholars undertake for Môn, what Burns and Scott did for the Border, the task of collecting the folk poetry and songs still on the lips of the people?

1. The present diffusion of Mon-Khmer and allied languages in the peninsula among races so distinct as the Semang, Sakai, Talaing and Nicobarese, and their wide extension from Annam to the borders of Bombay Presidency, suggest that there was once a power dominant, at least in the peninsula, which spoke a language of this type. But this theory, if true, could only apply to prehistoric days, several thousands of years ago. Between the date of the empire of Fu-nan (2nd-4th century) and the dates of the earliest Cambodian and Mon inscriptions, there is not nearly time enough to account for the already wide divergence of these languages; and as for the old theory that Mon and Khmer were one until the Shans divided them, the sooner it is forgotten the better.

In the same number (pp. 144-5) there is a short review by Mr. Blagden of Dr. V. Heine-Geldern's article in Band XXXVII (1917) of the *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*—"Kopfjagd und Menschenopfer in Assam und Birma und ihre Ausstrahlungen nach Vorderindien". The author concludes that "the Hindu *Sakti* and tantric cults owe their origin largely to Indo-Chinese (particularly aboriginal Assamese) influence, as the late Mr J. D. Anderson had already suggested". Mr. Blagden thinks the evidence adduced "very strong". He points out that head-hunting must be regarded in some sort as a religious act rather than an inhuman sport; and, with reference to human sacrifice, glances at the *myosats* of Burma.

The April number has a sheaf of interesting reviews. On pp. 265-9, in a shorter and somewhat altered form, appears Maung Tin's article on Buddhaghosa which was first printed in *J. B. R. S.* Vol. XII Part I. On pp. 284-8 Sir George Grierson gives a searching, but kindly, review of Mr. J. O. Fraser's "*Handbook of the Lisu (Yawyin) Language*" (1922, Government Press, Rangoon). He falls foul—as who would not?—of the transliteration *rg*h for a Lisu vowel, which, be it noted, can also be a nasal or part of a diphthong. He praises the author for using numbers to mark the tones:—"I hope that this example will in future be followed by all writers of Tibeto-Burman grammars and vocabularies, using, if possible, the system of representing tones formally adopted by the Associated Asiatic Societies."

This review is followed by another, by Sir Richard Temple, on A. R. Brown's "*The Andaman Islanders*" (1922 Cambridge University Press). On pp. 298-9 Mr. Grant Brown notices the "*Comparative Dictionary of the Pwo-Karen Dialect*" by the Rev. W. C. B. Purser and Saya Tun Aung (1922 A. B. M. Press), and styles "perverse" the extraordinary alphabet invented for the Karens by the American missionaries. It would be interesting to hear what can be said on the other side, but meantime it is noticeable that the Karen (Buddhist) books now being published at an enterprising Pa-an Press, are in Talaing character, and nearly all the Taungthu Mss. I have seen, use Burmese. It is natural that the missionaries, coming in contact chiefly with illiterate Karens, should underestimate, or even ignore, existing Karen literature. If such has been the case, surely it is high time—now that we know Pwo-Karen, at least, to possess a considerable literature, for them to drop their curious alphabet and adopt the one chosen by the Karens themselves.

On pp. 303-307 there is a review by Mr. P. R. Gurdon of Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua's "*Ahom-Assamese-English Dictionary*" (1920, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta). Ahom, as a spoken language, is now extinct; but the earliest *būranji*, or native histories of Assam, are in Ahom; and to students of Shan or Lao the language is important: "The Ahoms of Assam are the descendants of those Shans who, under the leadership of Chūkāphā, crossed the Pātkai range from Burmah and entered the upper portion of the valley of the Brahmapūtra (the country

which is called now Assam after them) about A. D. 1228. Their place of origin may be located now with some certainty, in the Chiengmai Province of Siam, on the banks of the river Mehkawng." It is strange that the Burmese chronicles make no reference to this big Shan movement across Upper Burma; the Shans are scarcely noticed, in Burma proper, till half a century later. But there are indications that, during much of the Pagan period, Burmese influence was felt far less in the north than in the south.

On pp. 317-8, there is a notice by Dr. R. O. Winstedt of W. G. White's "Sea Gypsies of Malaya, being an Account of Nomadic Mawken People of the Mergui Archipelago" (1922, Seeley, Service & Co.).¹

Finally, in the July number (p. 489), is another review by Mr. Gran Brown of the J. B. R. S. Vol. XI Part II. His question about the sources of "Folk Tales of Arakan" is answered elsewhere in this number by the author himself. Several criticisms are just and helpful; but if the writer, in his remarks on Mr. Taylor's paper in that issue, means that final "killed" *t* and *k* in Burmese words are really pronounced, i.e. that they are the stops of the plosives, he will find few phoneticians in modern Burma to agree with him. No doubt they were plosives, more or less complete, some centuries back; for the confusion between final *p* and *t* is of comparatively modern origin. But by personal observation of a good many Burmans I am satisfied that in final *t* the tongue does not usually touch the teeth-ridge; and though I am not so certain whether final *k* is not sometimes a velar stop, it seems probable that this too, like killed *p* and *t*, is now generally formed by the closing of the glottis.

G. H. L.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY-- AUGUST 1922-JULY 1923.

There is not very much about Burma in these numbers, but enough to show that Sir Richard Temple never forgets his early love, and even deigns to read the Burma Research Society Journal.

In the August number Sir Richard corrects a slip in the "List of Inscriptions found in Burma", Pt. I;—"The Archaeological Officer who brought King Bodawphayá's collection of copies to the serious notice of the Government, and induced it to collect and house them suitably, and afterwards began the printing of the Pagan, Pinya and Ava Inscriptions in 1892.....was Major R. C. Temple.....The work of printing the Inscriptions was carried on by his personal friend, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, after his departure from Burma in 1897."

1. Mr. White, it may be noted, has also brought out a translation of St. Mark's Gospel in Mawken (=Selung, or Salon); the book, which is in Roman character, is obtainable at the British and Foreign Bible Society, Sule Pagoda Road, Rangoon.

The December number (pp. 227-8) has a list of 15 Burmese Proverbs, collected by Rao Bahadur B. A. Gupte, and edited by Mr. A. L. Hough of the London School of Oriental Studies. Perhaps it is worth pointing out that many collections of Burmese proverbs (in the vernacular) have appeared in print. I know the *တောင်းပန်စာ* or "Two Thousand Proverbs" of Saya Taing (Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, 1910); the *သာသနိယစာတောင်းပန်* (Parts 1 and 2, Rangoon, Pylon-meitswe Press); and the *စိတ္တရတနာတောင်းပန်* Part I, 200 pp., published at Maung Saw's Press, Mandalay, 1913). There must be many others. Most of them appear to have explanations in Burmese, I know of none with English translations. The "Thesaurus of Proverbs, Maxims and Idioms", (by A. Maung Aung, published 1921, Chanea Press, Mandalay) sounds promising, but proves to be translations of English proverbs into Burmese; it is, however, of interest.

The February 1923 number (p. 40) contains a careful review by Sir Richard Temple of Mrs. Milne's Palaung Grammar, with a number of strictures chiefly on the system of transliteration—a matter on which, as usual, Sir Richard is hard to please. He connects Palaung *ta* a "conjunctive of intimate relation" as he calls it with *ta* in Nicobarese. Is there an equivalent in Talaing?

In the May number, in an interesting survey of the work of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Mr. S. M. Edwardes (p. 119) quotes Pinot—"This coastal region (of *Prôme* and *Pegu*) professed the Theravāda doctrine six or seven centuries before it appeared on the banks of the Mekong"—a statement based on the Maunggan plates and Bawbawgyi stone, all of which are in Pali—and add "It is quite possible that Siam borrowed the creed from Pegu to hand it on to her eastern neighbours, and that therefore the inscriptions of Maunggan and Hmawza are indirectly the earliest title-deeds of the modern Buddhism of Cambodia."

The June number contains "Some Discursive Comments on Barbosa" (as edited by the late M. Longworth Dames, Vol. II) by Sir Richard Temple, an article full of important suggestions to scholars in Burma. He mentions (p. 133) Barbosa's (and Pinto's) Lake Chimay or Chiamay—which some have tried to identify with Tonle Sap in Cambodia—and hints a possible connection with Zimmé. Barbosa's tribe of "Gueos" is identified by Dames with the Wās, on Sir George Scott's authority; Sir Richard very shrewdly argues that they were probably Gwê Shans; but invites researchers to take up the problem. With regard to Burma proper, Sir Richard quarrels with Barbosa's statement: "There are no Moors (*sc. Muhammadans*) therein, inasmuch as it has no seaport which they can use for their traffic." "Barbosa's Dela should be identified, not with Dála, but with Dalá..... As regards Macao near Pegu, I made a note some years ago on it which I have unfortunately mislaid. My recollection is that it was on the Pegu River, between its junction

with the Rangoon River and Pegu town, and that it has since disappeared owing to river changes. To Dames' note on "Martaban Jars" (page 159) I may add that full information on the subject.....will be found *ante*, Vol. XXIII pp. 340, 341.....While one is discussing place names it is interesting to note that Nicolo Conti in the 15th century thought that Mâchîn (Macinus) meant Burma with its capital at Ava. The name Capelan for the Ruby Mines of Burma has baffled Dames as it has long baffled me, and I would like to draw attention to it here in the hope that some Shan, Palaung or Mon scholar will take it up and settle it." Finally, Temple explains "Anseam" as Siam *plus* a form of the Arabic prefix *al* and agrees with Dames in thinking that similarly Arakan represents Ar Rakhaing." If so, Parker's identification of the Chinese A-li-chi (one of the kingdoms dependent on the P'iao, mentioned in the New T'ang History) with Arakan, falls to the ground.

In the July number (pp. 172-3), continuing the subject, Sir Richard refers to Barbosa's notice "of a custom in Arakan of selecting brides by the smell of their perspiration in clothing, which reads as if it were apocryphal" but "may have an explanation in the custom of smelling for kissing prevalent in Burma and elsewhere in the far East."¹ Sir Richard gives an amusing account of his official tenure of the Court white elephant at Mandalay in 1885, and of Pegu (or rather Shan) ponies, mentioned by Barbosa—"many very proper nags, great walkers."

In the "Miscellanea" of the same number Sir Richard draws attention to a "puzzling corruption of the Oriental term Faringi (= Frank) for a Western European," occurring in San Baw U's article "My Rambles" (J. B. R. S. Vol. XI. p. 165), where the author explains Min *Pa-laung* of Arakan, as the king (who defeated) the *Faringi*. Do Arakanese scholars accept this interpretation of the name?

G. H. L.

1. Mr. G. E. Harvey has called my attention to the following curious passage, translated from the French of Richard (Paris 1778, 2 Vols.), which appears on p. 761, Vol. IX, of Pinkerton "A general Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels in all parts of the World" (Longman, 1808-14):—"The King of Arakan), shut up in his palace, vegetates in lifeless indolence with the queen and his concubines. Every year each of the twelve Governors, chooses in his district twelve girls of the same age, whom they expose to the burning rays of the sun, to create perspiration. They are afterwards dried with a fine cloth which is sent to court that they may determine by the smell, which is most worthy to enter the seraglio. Those who are rejected, fall to the lot of the courtiers, who receive them as a mark of the greatest favour. It is said that the monarch has no other guard than his concubines who are trained to the use of arms."

CORRESPONDENCE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AT SHINMOKTI VILLAGE, TAVOY TOWNSHIP.

Dated Tavoy the 7th June 1923

SIR,

I have the honour to report that about 6 weeks ago certain relics were found in a paddy field near a village named Shinmukti in the Tavoy Township. I enclose a report on the subject submitted by the Township Officer, Maung Ba Thin, and also a translation made from a palm leaf document kept in the *pong-yikyaung* at Shinmukti concerning wooden images referred to by Maung Ba Thin, in his report. The translation in question was made by my Chief Clerk Maung Pe Hlwe.

I shall be glad to furnish you with any further particulars which may be of interest to the Society.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. R. PELLY, I. A., Major.

Deputy Commissioner,

TAVOY.

Report by Maung Ba Thin, Township Officer, Tavoy, to the Deputy Commissioner, Tavoy, dated the 26th May 1923.

I beg to report that on being informed that certain relics have been found by U Wayama and the villagers of Mokti village in a paddy field 200 feet east of Mokti village, I proceeded to the village and on making enquiries found that relics of historical importance were unearthed at a place some 200 feet east of the Mokti village and not far from the famous Mokti Pagoda. Before I say anything about the relics I may say that the pagoda has a history of its own. It was supposed to have been built by the Siamese who were the early settlers of a portion of the Tavoy District. In those days Tavoy was divided into hamlets, each with its own King or Sawbwa.....So far as the pagoda is concerned it is said that a wooden image floated down the river, supposedly from Ceylon, and reached Tavoy. The villagers turned out in a body, and when they tried to land it they could not do so, until a pious man finally

succeeded. A ground was then selected and consecrated and the image was then enshrined. It has been, and is still a custom amongst the Buddhists that at such a ceremony the people from the King downwards should attend and give offerings such as rings, jewels, hair, moneys, etc., and generally a slab of stone with an inscription commemorating the ceremony would be put up. This latest find consists of :—

- (1) one stone image of Buddha in a sitting posture, height 4 feet; found at a depth of 5 cubits, with an inscription. The workmanship seems to be old.
- (2) big clay images, about 300 in number; the height of each image is about 4½ inches. 150 are in good condition, and most of them carry inscriptions, apparently in the Siamese language.
- (3) two slabs weighing about 100 viss, with inscription defaced.
- (4) one anklet made of silver and copper, showing oxidation.
- (5) one small bangle made of silver and copper, showing oxidation.
- (6) four silver and two copper rings. They also show oxidation.
- (7) three pieces of alloy, probably of copper and silver.
- (8) two gold rings.

The anklet, bangle and gold and silver rings are at present with U Sandima, a *pongyi* of Shin Mokti Pongyi Kyaung. The villagers held a meeting and it was resolved to enshrine all the images at one place, and at the ceremony of enshrinement the gold and silver pieces will also be put in. Since this find I have asked the villagers to make diligent search in the locality for relics, and to report to me at once when a find is made. I have also asked a few elders of the town and the villages for information about this pagoda. It is said that a book relating the important event of that time that took place in connection with the landing of the images, consecration of the ground and the dedication ceremony, has been published, and if required it will be submitted to you.

Submitted to the Deputy Commissioner, Tavoy, for information.

Copy of translation by Maung Pe Hlwe, Chief Clerk, Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Tavoy.

Three images of wood were carved out of the southern branch of the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained omniscience. In these images were enshrined also certain relics of the Buddha by the disciples, who floated the images, each set up on a marble slab placed upon big planks of *thingan* wood with a small banyan tree growing upon the plank. The images floated down the Ganges and through the ocean,

when one of these got aground at Sandoway and the second stranded at a reef near Amherst. The third found its way into the Tavoy River as far as the mouth of the Sawwa Chaung where it lay stationary. At that time King Sila was the ruling chief of Wedi. Certain boatmen caught sight of the image on a sand bank. The king went to the spot in a royal boat but the image went up the Sawwa Chaung as far as Mokti. King Sila with his retinue landed the image at Mokti with a befitting ceremony on Tuesday the 5th waxing of Tazaungmon in the year 800 B. E. The banyan tree was planted in the precincts of the shrine and the slab of marble can be seen at Mokti to this day.

Note.—While the above correspondence was in the press, I received from Major Pelly two photographs of the find referred to. One of these shews a selection of the objects enumerated in Maung Ba Thin's report, the large image, it seems, in the normal earth-touching attitude, and about a hundred stamped clay reliefs. The rings etc. are shown in the other photograph together with three inscriptions, probably on the backs of three of the clay reliefs just mentioned. I cannot decipher the whole of any of these inscriptions as seen in the photograph, but I have little doubt that the language is, mainly at least, Old Talaiing. The first seems to contain, at intervals, the words *tirley* (= lord), *gna smiñ sri tribhawanāditya* (= His Majesty King Sri Tribhavanāditya—an unusual spelling), *(sa)mbrē* (= title of a Burmese official. See Epig. Birm. Vol. III. Pt. I. Inscr IX *passim*), *tirla' poy senak* (= our lord the monk Senaka), *ey dik* (= I) and *tirla'* (= lord). The second has *kyek* (= pagoda or image—spelt as in the Myazedi Inscription), *kon* (= child) and *brow* (= woman). The third has *samben* (*ānanda*) *jeyy(a)*, and possibly the name of the king as given above. A good many other letters are visible at intervals but one would need time and, probably, a view of the objects, to make a satisfactory restoration. There are moreover certain letters, or marks over letters, which are unfamiliar to me. I am therefore passing on the photograph to an expert, and hope to reproduce it, with his comments, in a subsequent number of the Journal. The historical importance of this find is obvious.—G. H. L.

SOURCES OF "FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN."*

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Grant Brown is quite justified in making the remarks he did, especially in regard to the "Story of the Turtle" (B. R. S. J. vol. part). But if ever he brought in a suggestion that I manufactured the story for Arakan, the people here would only laugh at him because it is known to every individual Arakanese. I am not sure if it is known in Burma as well; but the last story I sent you, that of the Hamadryad, is quite familiar to the Burmese also.

When I was a little boy I used to be sent to bed early, and my aunt used to tell me these stories which were then familiarly known to every household and employed with the sole object of inducing children to fall off to sleep. A few years back the late U Htoon Chan once casually remarked to me that these stories were being gradually forgotten by the people owing to their increasing struggle for existence. It was then that I conceived for the first time the idea of writing up these stories in English and thereby preserving them for posterity. My subsequent

* In reply to a letter drawing the author's attention to a review in the R. A. S. Journal in which the sources of the "Folk Tales" are called in question.—Ed.

investigations have proved the truth of what U Htoon Chan then said. In the town of Akyab there is at present not a single person, man or woman, who remembers more than three or four of such stories. Whenever I make enquiries I am always told, "Oh ! I used to know a lot when I was young; but those who really knew them are now dead. If you want to listen to these stories you should go to some secluded village in the district where they are still preserved and handed down from generation to generation."

So far as I remember, these stories form a very large collection. Some are short and some long; and like the Fables of Aesop a few of them contain some useful moral lesson. The majority of these stories are orally handed down; there are also others, lengthy ones, which have been preserved in the form of E-gyiñ, Linga, Thā-gyiñ (ဝတ္ထု) and Phwè (၂). Some of these latter are That-ta-ha-nu, Kaw-Kaw-nu, Wun-thu-daw, Ran-aung, Hta-ma-ra, U-ga, Gro-gra, Shwe-ma-la and Mra-ke-tha phwè, and so on.

It is my intention to write up these oral stories first as they are more easily forgotten and lost. When the series is complete, or rather when I have recorded as many as possible, I shall next take up the written ones in which are some of the best in the whole collection.

Folk tales are common to every country. Sometimes some of them travel great distances either in the wake of trade and commerce or due to the impact of civilisations. Thus we observe that some of the stories in the Jatakas are reproduced, with certain modifications, in the Fables of Aesop. But even if this is not conceded it has been ascertained that in the first century A. D. a collection of about a hundred Indian fables came to Alexandria. According to Mr. Jacobs the so-called "Fables of Kasyāpa" were taken to Ceylon, and that it was by means of an embassy from that Island that they reached the Egyptian centre of learning, where they were translated and were subsequently known as the "Libyan Fables." Then again there are certain scholars who favour the belief that the Jatakas inspired the "box arrangement" of the Arabian Nights, which in turn produced in the West the well known works called the Decameron and the Heptameron. My task does not lie in finding out the origin of our stories but simply in recording all those that are found to be in common use by the people of the land. Everybody knows of the political relations between Arakan and Burma in the past, and there is hardly any necessity for us to be surprised when we find some of these stories to be common to both countries.

Yours faithfully,

SAN SHWE BU.

BURMESE GARDENING.

DEAR SIR,

I am desirous of obtaining information upon the practice of Gardening by the Burmese. I understood from Lady Cuffe that this subject was given attention to by the Burmese before the British assumed control, and wish to learn of the existence of any:—

Gardening—Palace Gardens—Avenue Tree or Fruit Tree planting apart from main crops, that owes its origin entirely to Burmese effort.

The Agri-Horticultural Society has been in existence for 45 years now and I can trace no information upon any enquiry into the subject and would like to put on record any available information concerning it.

I think that there is great danger in sources of information becoming considerably less during the next few years.*

Yours faithfully,

H. E. COOPER,

SUPERINTENDENT,

Agri-Horticultural Society of Burma.

* Will any member who has information on the subject of this letter kindly communicate it, either to me, or to Mr. Cooper direct? *Ed.*

Report on the Burma Research Society Prize Competitions.

The late U Chit Maung, President of the Kyaukse Literary Academy, shortly before his death offered the following prizes for open competition under the auspices of the Burma Research Society :—

(a) 3 prizes, one of Rs. 50, two of Rs. 25, for the best set of unpublished songs or ballads by any Burman writer who wrote before 1885.

(b) one prize of Rs. 100 for the best essay in Burmese on the life and works of U Ponnya, with comments on the *Zats*, songs etc., showing why they were written and contemporary opinions regarding them.

(c) one prize of Rs. 25 for the best essay in Burmese poetical prose on one of the following subjects.

1. The Tamarind Tree မန်ကည်ပင်၏အသုံးကျခြင်း
2. The Subot-ywet or Chinbaung. မြင်ဘောင်ရွက်သို့မဟုတ်ဆူးပုတ်
3. The Sèhnayathi ဆယ်နှစ်ရာသီ

The competitors were directed to model their essays on U Ponnya's မေတ္တာစာ(Myittaza), on နွားတကောင်လုံးအသုံးကျသည်(Nwā-ta-gaung- loñ-athon-kya-thi).

U May Oung, President of the Burma Research Society, kindly contributed Rs. 50 towards the prize of Rs. 100 in Competition B, and the two second prizes in Competition (A) were offered by the Burma Research Society.

For Competition A eight entries were received, for Competition B five entries, and for Competition C eleven entries. The number of competitors was therefore encouraging, and the wide range over which the competitors are spread is even more satisfactory. Entries were received from Mandalay, Prome, Sagaing, Thayetmyo, Pyapon, Tharra-waddy and the Upper Chindwin. They were not confined to the large towns, and the greater proportion of the competitors are from country villages, which would seem to indicate a very widespread and general interest in the activities which it is the object of the Society to promote. Two of the competitors were women.

Competition A

There were 8 entries, but most of the entries submitted were found to have been published previously. The following notes on the entries may interest competitors and others.

No. 1.

Submitted 3 verses : (a) အမေးချွေးပျို (Ame :hkwe :pyo); (b) တံသာဝတီ ရောက်မင်းတရားဆိုရန်(a yadu); (c) ငွေ့ကူးမင်းချင်း Singumin Egyin); of which the first is a modern song in the style of Po Sein, and the others have already been in print in the ကဗျာဗန္ဓိသာရ (Kabyā Bandhathāra ကဗျာသံဗိက (Kabyā Sandika) and elsewhere.

No. 2.

Submitted 3 old verses which have not been traced in print. The first represents an incomplete and not very accurate version of the ဆဒ္ဓန်ကျိ (Hsaddan Kyo). The competitor gave the name of the author as Zat Mintha U Tha San whereas the author—or, at least, the producer—was Yok-the Minthami U Tha Zan. The same competitor submitted a Legyo which has been printed in the မောတရာ (Mahā Kabyā) Volume I page 83.

No. 3.

Submitted 5 verses, comprising the တောင်သွဉ်းသီချင်း (Taungthū bwè thī-gyīn), ထမ်းသမားသွဉ်းသီချင်း (Tanthamā bwè thīgyīn), which have been printed in the Mahā Kabyā Volume II pages 87-88, the pleasant *ainggyin* ချစ်တဲ့သူငယ်လေး (chit tè thungēle) which has been printed in the Kabyā Bandhathāra p. 218, and also in the Kabyā-thingaha-medani (ကဗျာသစ်ဟမေးနီ), and two Lungyins by U Kyi and U Saung respectively.

No. 4.

Submitted one entry, ရှာတောင်ပုံချင်း (Shā daw boñ Ngogyīn), which has been printed in the Mahā Kabyā Volume II page 120.

No. 5.

Submitted verses, an အောင်ငင်ကျိ (Aung-ngin-kyo :) and ဝါဆိုလတ္တံးတင် (Wā-hso-la-bwè-te-dat) which may be found in the Mahā Kabyā Volume II pages 37 and 28.

No. 6.

Submitted the သနားစရာတောင်သွဉ်းသီချင်း (Thānasayā Ngwetaung bwè) dated 1217, by the သလုံးဝန်ကြီး (Thalon Wungyi), which has not been traced in print. The entry was wrongly styled an အံ့ချင်း (Añ-gyīn) as the poem is really an အောင်ငင်ကျိ (Aung Ngin kyo :) and is better known as the ကိန္နရာသွဉ်း (Keinnayā bwè).

No. 7

Submitted 2 verses, a ရွှေဘိုလွှမ်းချင်း (Shwebo Lungyīn), and အောင်ပင်လယ်လွှမ်းချင်း (Aungbinlè Lungyīn), which have not been traced in print but are incomplete. Both are old popular songs, the second a very pleasant charm for the girls transplanting paddy.

No. 8.

Submitted 3 verses of an E-gyīn (အေးချင်း) dated 1106, by မင်းရဲမင်းကျော်သုဝေဓသရာဇာ (Minyè-minkyaw-thū Padethayāzā).

It was evident from the prefatory remarks attached to many of the entries that the verses have been regarded as heirlooms and that many competitors were quite unaware of the collections of Burmese verses which have been made from time to time. The greatest find undoubtedly was the E-gyīn submitted by No. 8, but as the complete poem comprises 32 verses of which only 3 have been produced, the judges found themselves unable to recommend it for a prize. They are of opinion however that the Society should offer to purchase the full poem if available for the

amount which was offered as a first prize.* The two 2nd prizes are awarded to (No. 3) U Htin of Sa-daung village in the Sagaing district, for his *လွင်ရှင်* (Lungyins) by U Kyi and U Saung; and to (No. 6) Maung Tauk Tun, pensioned bazaar-gaung of Sinbaungwe town of Thayetmyo district, for the *အောင်ဇော်* or *အောင်* by the Thalon Wungyi. They recommend also that the hitherto unpublished fragments submitted by Maung Tein Hoke, District Office, Prome (No. 2), and by Maung Thetpyin, Student, Ywasigaingdauk Sayadaw's School in Sinbaungwe (No. 7), be printed.

Competition B.

Five entries were received for this competition. The entries from No. 1 and No. 3 were marred by several defects. The history was not always accurate, the criticism was defective and the opinions of other authorities on U Ponnya's writings were not given. No. 2 suffered from the same defects but in a less degree and contains a considerable amount of interesting matter. No. 4 also fails to attain the standard required for a prize. By far the best of the entries was that submitted by No. 5. The Society, therefore, in accordance with the judges' recommendation award three-quarters of the prize, namely Rs. 75, for the essay submitted by (No. 5) U Ba Thein, and one quarter of the prize, Rs. 25, for the essay submitted by (No. 2) Saya Oh. Both these gentlemen belong very fittingly to the Literary Academy, Kyaukse, of which the late U Chit Maung, the donor of the prize, was the President. With great regret, however, the Society has learnt that U Ba Thein, the writer of the prize essay, died shortly after his paper was submitted.

Competition C.

There were 11 entries, of which all but two selected the Tamarind among the alternatives given to competitors. In this competition a prize of Rs. 25 is awarded to U Shan, of Sa-daung village, Sagaing District.

The Society is greatly indebted to the judges for their work in connection with the competition. They were U Tin K.S.M., A.T.M., the Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung, and Saya Tun Pe.

* U Kyin Han T. D. M. has kindly agreed to supply gratis a copy of the complete Egyin, which is printed below.

PADESARAJA EGYIN.

EDITED BY U KYIN HAN.

PREFACE.

၁။ ထိုဒေချင်းရေးသော ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်မှာပဒေသရာဇာဘွဲ့နုတ်ရှင်နောင်ဘွဲ့စသောဘွဲ့ကြီး အသီးအသီးဖြင့် ခြီးမြှင့်ခြင်းကိုခံရသော ဇနီးစားဝန်ကြီးမင်းပင်တည်း။ ထိုဝန်ကြီးမင်း၏ အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိစာတမ်းမှာ စာမျက်နှာ (၃၉) တွင်စာပေရှာတွေ့ရသမျှ တော်ပြုရေးသားလိုက်သည်။

၂။ ။ထိုဒေချင်းဘွဲ့ခံသော မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေအမည်တွင်သော မင်းသမီးကား။ လောကသရဘူ စေတီတော်ဟူ၍ ၎င်း။ ကြာသပတေး မင်းဟူ၍ ၎င်း။ ဟံသာဝတီရောက် မင်းတရားဟူ၍ ၎င်း။ ရာဇဝင်များတွင် မေးတင်ကြသော*၁၀၉၅ ခုမှာနန်းရ၍ ၁၁၁၃ ခုမှာ နန်းကျသော အဝတုရင်နှင့် မိဘုရားမဟာ မိပတိ ဒေဝီက မွေးဖွားသောနန်းထက်ဖွား မင်းသမီးတည်း။

၃။ ။မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ အမည်တွင်သော မင်းသမီးမယ်တော် ဖြစ်သော မိဘုရား မဟာမိပတိ ဒေဝီမှာလည်း ဟံသာဝတီရောက် မင်းတရားခမည်းတော်။ တနင်္ဂနွေမင်းတရားနှင့် မိဘုရားကြီးက မွေးပွားသော နန်းထက်ဖွားမင်းသမီး ၃ ပါးရှိရာ ဟံသာဝတီရောက်မင်းတရားက ၃ ပါးစလုံး မဟေသီတိသိက် သွန်းလောင်းတင်မြှောက်ခြင်းခံရသော အလှဆုံး အငယ်ဆုံး ညီမတော်အထွေးဆုံးပင်တည်း။

၄။ ။သည်ကဲ့သို့ဖြစ်၍။ ဒေချင်းတွင်။မင်းသမီးနှင့် မင်းသမီးမယ်တော်မိဘုရားကြီးယဉ်ကျေးသိမ်မွေ့ နုနယ်ဖျိုမြိန်ပုံ။ အပြစ်လွတ်ပုံများကို စာဆိုဆရာ ဝန်ကြီးမင်းက ထည့်သွင်းဘော်ပြု။သာဓု။သာဓု။ ညာပက။ညာပန။ယထာဘူတစပ်ဆိုသတည်း။ ။

၅။ ။ယခုတင်သွင်းသော ဒေချင်းတော် ရေးရင်းသက္ကရာဇ်ကား ဂေါ်စာ။ (၁၁၀၆)ခုဝါဆိုလဆန်း ၁ ရက်မှာစ၍ ရေးသည်။ဝါဆိုလဆန်း ၃ ရက်နေ့မှာ အပြီးသတ်သည်ဟု အမှတ်ပြုကြရုံမက။ ဒေါသ စသောအပြစ်ကင်းလွတ်။ အသတ်ပင့်ရန် ခွဲထားအသံမှန်ကန်၍ စံပြရသောကဗျာဟု မြန်မာမင်းတို့လက်ထက်တော်။ထင်ပေါ်ကျော်စောသောဒေချင်းများတွင် ပါဝင်သောဒေချင်းပင်တည်း။

ထိုဒေချင်းမူရင်းလက်ခံသည်။ U Tin (2) K.S.M. A. T. M. Retired E.A.C, ၏ပိဋကတ်တိုက်ကရသည်။

EGYIN.

နမော တဿ ဘဂဝတော အရဟတော သမ္မာသမ္ဗုဒ္ဓဿ။ ။

၁။ ။တိုးတက်မင်္ဂလာ။ ဘုန်းတေဇာတိ။ ဖြာဖြာဖြိုးမြင့်။ မညှိုးပွင့်သည်။ ရာမင်းဦးစွန်း။ ထိပ်ပန်းလှချာ။ ဧကရာဇ်လျှင်။ မဟာရာဇာမိပတိ။ သီရိထွန်းပ။နရသင်္ကန်းကေရာဇ်၏။ရင်နှစ်သွေးရည်။ လှသည်ရောင်ဆင်း။မင်းဦးထိပ်နေ။မြတ်သန္ဓေကို။ရံရွှေပြီးမှ။ချိုထိမ်းယနှင့်။ နန္ဒငယ်သက်။ကစားဘက်ကို။ စုံမက်ပျံ့ပျံ့လွှဲလွှဲ။ ကျွန်းစရာ။ ဒေချင်းစာကို။ရုံးကာလွယ်လွယ်။ အကျဉ်းပြု၍။ ဘုရားကျွန်တော်။ ထင်ပေါ်မင်းပွဲ။ မင်းရုံးမင်းလှကျော်ထင်။ဦးတင်ရှိမြေဥင်။ စိကုံးလျောက်မည်။ စံမြောက်ရွှေလျော်။ နန်းထက်ပျော်သည်။ ။နားတော်စေ့စေ့နာတည်လေ။ ။လျင်လျင်တည်ဘုန်းမွေးစက်ပျော်ရေး။ ။ရွန်းရွန်းတည်ယည်ချေးနှုတ်ပျံ့မွှေး။ ။ဒေယဉ်တည်သံလေးသံယဉ်ဇေး။ ။

၂။ ။ထွန်းပဒေသရေ။ ထွေထွေဆန်းထူး။ ရှုတိုင်းမူးသည်။ ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်။ ရုပ်သွင်လှကျော်။ ရွှေနား

ပျော်သော။ ထွန်းပေါ်ကမ္ဘာ။တည်သောခါက။ မဟာသမ္မတ။ စန္ဒြိတိုင်ခုံ။မင်းဖြစ်ခဲ့ပြီး။ မြို့ကြီးသာစည်။တကောင်းပြည်ကို။ စိုးသည်လုထိပ်။ ခုနစ်ကျိပ်နှင့်။ရန်နိုင်ပယ်၍။ ခုနစ်ပံးမှ။ ရွှေရွာတထွေ။ သရေခေတ္တရာ။ ပြည်အောင်ချာဝယ်။ရာဇာဘုန်းကြွယ်။ နှစ်ဆယ်ကကျူ။ ခုနစ်ဦးလျှင်။ စိုးမှုခွဲနောက်။ ဘုန်းတောက်ထင်ရှား။ နေနဂါး၏။ သည်ကြားမျှ။မင်း။ထွတ်ရန်နှင့်လျှင်။ပွင့်လင်းသာစံ။ ပြည်ပုဂံကို။ဘုန်းလျှံငြိမ်း။ ခံ၍စိုးသည်။ တန်ခိုးပြင်းတေတည်လေ။ ရန်မန်တည့်နီးဝေးကြောက်တုန်း။ စည်ရှည်တည့်ထက်ဝေးသခင်ဘေ။ ။

၃။ ။ဥမျိုးအစ။သည်ကဖြစ်ခဲ့။ငါးဆဲ့ငါးယောက်။ စိုးပြီးနောက်မှ။ ရွှေမှောင်ထွတ်တင်။တစီးရှင်နှင့်။ ဦးကင်ခြောက်ဆက်။ မပျက်မူလ။ ပြည်ပင်းယကို။ စိုးရကွပ်ထိုင်။ မြို့စစ်ကိုင်းဝယ်။ ဘုန်းလှိုင်းရာဇာ သံယာဟူ။ ဆက်ကာ ခြောက်ကန်။စိုးပြီးလွန်မှ။တမ်းခွန်ရွှေထ။မြတ်ဌာနကို။ အစအုပ်မိုး။သတိုးမင်းဖျား။တရားမင်းခေါင်။တည်ပြန်တောင်၏။ သည်နောင်ကေရာဇ်။တက်၍နှစ်တို့။ တလွှဲစိုးကံ။ဝံ့ပြီးစီးမှ။မင်းရှုံးဘုန်းတူ။ သိမ်သူလျှင်။ တောင်ငူနန်းမြင့်။ ရိပ်မြို့စွင့်၏။ သည်မင်းသည်းကြာ။ တရားပွင့်လူ။ ဆင်ဖြူများရှင်။ ဘုရင်များချော့နန်းဟံသာကို။ အာကာသိမ်းအုပ်။ ချုပ်ခဲ့ပြီးမှ။နရသည်းကြာ။ မင်းဖျားထွတ်တင်။ ညောင်ရမ်းရှင်လျှင်။ရပ်ထင်ပူရ။သည်ရှေ့ဝကို။သောကတမ်းခွန်။ ထူဆောက်ပြန်သည်။ ရန်မန်ပျောက် ရှင်းရှင်းတည့်လေ။ ။မကြွင်းတည့်မြို့မြွေးစင်အောင်ဆေ။ ။ဘုန်းလျှံတည့်နီးဝေးဖြာဖြာပြေ။ ။

၄။ ။သည်နောက်သည်းချာ။ ဆက်ကာစံပျော်။ ညီတော်ဘုန်းဝန်။သာလွန်မင်းတရား။သည်းကြားဘုန်းလျှပ်။ ငါးထပ်ဒါယကာ။နရာထိပ်ပေါ်။ညီတော်ပြည်မင်း။ရင်တွင်းသည်းချာ။ဆက်ကာဘုန်းတောက်။ အထွတ်ရောက်၏။ သည်နောက်ကျော်သည်။ ခမည်းတော်ဘေး။ဘုန်းမွေးပွင့်လျာ။ ဧကရာလျှင်။စန္ဒာဗေဒီ။ မဟေသီနှင့်။တူပြီရွှေနန်း။စံသိမ်းမြန်း၍။ ကြွန်းသည်းချာ။ မဟာဩရသ။ ရှင်ဘာဘိုးတော်။ ဘုန်းကျော်သည်ရှင်။လုထွတ်တင်ကို။ ရည်သင်ကိုယ်စား။ အိမ်ရှေ့ထားလျက်။ လွှဲကြားမြေပြင်။ ဥကင်လျှံတောက်။ ငါးကျိပ်မြောက်ဝယ်။ ကျော်ခြောက်နှံသိ။ သီရိပဝရ တရိဘဝနာသီဟသူရ အဂ္ဂပဏ္ဍိတ ရာဇာဓိမဟာဓမ္မရာဇာ။သာသည်နာမံ။မည်တော်ခံသည်။ ။ကျော်သံနတ်ရပ်တိုင်တည့်လေ။ ဦးကင်တည့်လျှံ ပြေးမင်းမှုရေး။ ပြည်ရွာတည့်နီးဝေးချမ်းငြိမ်းရေး။ ။

၅။ ။လွှဲစွမ်းဦးကင်။ သိထင်မြတ်လှ။ ရာဇဒေဝီ။ သိညီပေါ်ထင်။ အသျှင်မိဘုရား။ ရှစ်သောင်းဖျားသည်။ကျော်ကြားနှံသိ။ သီရိပဝရ အတုလအဂ္ဂမဟာ သုဓမ္မရာဇာဒေဝီ။သီရိရောင်လျှံ။ဘွဲ့တော်ခံ၍။သူဇိမာစာ။ နေနှင့်လသျှံ။ရာဇပလ္လင်။ ရည်စံရှင်၍။ဦးကင်နန်းမှ။ တွင်စည်ခါပယ်။ တေဇာကျော်သည်။ ခမည်းတော်ဘိုး။ရိုက်ရာစိုးက။ ကျော်ဟိုးနှံသိ။သီရိမဟာသီဟသူရမဟာသုဓမ္မရာဇာ။သညာနာမံ။မည်တော်ခံ၍။ ထွန်းလျှံဆင်းဝါ။ မဟာဒေဝီ။တူပြီမည်ရှိ။သီရိဒေဝီ။ သိဒ္ဓိတမ္ပ။ နန္ဒဒေဝီ။အင်ညီထွတ်တာ။မြတ်သုံးပါးနှင့်။ တရားသဖြင့်။ရိပ်မြို့စွင့်၍။ နတ်နှင့်မပြား။မြတ်သုံးပါးတွင်။ ညာဖျားတင်ရာ။ မဟာဒေဝီ။မဟေသီ၏။ ရှည်လွန်ချစ်။ရင်ဝယ်ဖြစ်သည်။ ဧကရာဇ်ထိပ်ပေါ်။ရှင်ဘိုးတော်ကို။ရည်မျှော်ကိုယ်စား။အိမ်ရှေ့ထားသည်။ ။ညွန့်သားမင်္ဂလာတည့်လေ။ ။ရာဇာတည့်စင်ရွှေးပြစ်မျိုးဝေး။ ။သခင်တည့်ဘုန်းမွေးဘိုးကော်မြေ။

၆။ ။ခမည်းတော်ဘိုး။ နတ်ပြည်စိုးသော်။ တန်းစိုးထွန်းပေါ်။ ရှင်ဘိုးတော်လျှင်။ ပြည်ကျော်တိုင်းလုံး။ စိုးယူကျုံး၍။ ထွတ်ဆုံးတိုင်ပြီ။ သီရိပဝရမဟာဓမ္မရာဇာဓိပတိ။ မိုးထိကျော်သံ။ ဘွဲ့တော်ခံ၍။ ဆင်းစံခေါင်ထိ။သီရိမဟာ။မင်္ဂလာဒေဝီ။နတ်ပြီဆင်းဝါ။ စန္ဒာဒေဝီ။ကျော်ညီနှံသိ။ သီရိဓမ္မဒေဝီ။ညီသည်ကြွန်အင်။ အသျှင်မိဘုရား။ မြတ်သုံးပါးနှင့်။ဖျားသည်ရံအုပ်။ကိုယ်လုပ်မောင်းမ။ ညွတ်ခမ္မားခတ်။ဝန်းပတ်ပြီးထူ။ ဆင်ဖြူဆင်မည်း။ ပည်းမျှထွေလည်။ ရွှေတော်နည်၍။ ရောင်ခြည်အနီ။ မှန်စိပြီပြက်။ရွှေနန်းထက်ဝယ်။ ငြိမ်သက်သာယာ။စမ္မာယ်ကာလျှင်။ မြတ်ရာတင်တာ။ မင်းသုံးပါးတွင်။ ခေါင်ဖျားဓိပတိ။သီရိမင်္ဂလာ မင်္ဂလာဒေဝီ။ ကျော်ညီလွန်ထင်။ နန်းမရှင်၏။ရွှေရင်သည်းချာ။ ရတနာမြတ်လှ။ရှင်မွေးဘကို။ပေါက်ပြီသတင်း။ အိမ်ရှေ့

နှင်းသည်။ ။နန်းခင်းကိုယ်စားရည်တည်လေ။ ။ခပ်သိမ်းတည်ငြိလ်လွေးချမ်းသာပေ။ ။နတ်လူတည်
ချီကျွေးအောင်ဆုပေး။ ။

၇။ ။သခင်ဘိုးတော်၊ ဘုန်းကျော်ထွတ်တိုင်း၊ ရွှေနန်းထိုင်သော်၊ ဖက်ပြိုင်မရ၊ တန်းခိုးပသည်။ နရထိပ်
ပေါ်။ ခမည်းတော်လျှင်၊ ပြည်ကျော်တိုင်းလုံး၊ ရိုက်ရာကျိုး၏။ ထွတ်ဆုံးကျော်ဦး၊ တိုင်ရောက်ပြီးသော်၊ ဝေး
နီးပတ်ကို။ တိုင်းလုံးသာယာ။ ဝပြောစွာအောင်၊ ပညာတော်မြတ်၊ စက်သွားခြတ်သို့၊ မလွတ်မဟင်း။ စီရင်
ခြင်းနှင့်၊ ထွန်းဝင်းရိပ်ငြိမ်း၊ စည်းစိမ်ဘုန်းတန်၊ အဆန်းဆန်းကို၊ မော်ကွန်းထင်ရှား၊ နန်းပွဲများဝယ်၊ မလွှားမပ၊
သွဲဘူးလှပြီ။ နရသဒီ၊ သီရိရောင်ဝင်း၊ ရှင့်ကြောင်းခြင်းကို၊ သံညင်းရုံးချင်း၊ စပ်ကာလျှင်း၍၊ အကျဉ်းလွယ်
ကာ၊ လိုရုံသာလျှင်၊ ရှိကြာလက်မြောက်၊ ကျွန်တော်လျှောက်မည်၊ လဲးပေါက်ရွှေဝါ၊ ထက်အာကာက၊
လွင့်ကာကျသို့၊ လှသည့်အသရေ၊ ထိပ်ဦးနေသည်။ ။စွေရေနုလုံး သွင်းတည်လေ။ ။စက်တော်တည်
ဇေးပျော်တည်ရေ။ ။ချိုချိုတည်လေးသေးစကားမွေး။ ။

၈။ ။ချစ်ချင်စဖွယ်၊ နုနယ်ရွှေ၊ လှသည်ရောင်ဆင်း၊ တင်ပြစ်ကင်းသည်။ မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ၊ ရွှေနားခွေ
လော၊ မြတော်ပျော်၊ ရှင့်မယ်တော်သည်၊ ပြင်ဖော်လွတ်တု၊ ယဉ်မျိုးစုသည်။ နုသည့်ဆင်းဝါ၊ လက္ခဏာ
ကာ၊ ဒီပါနွဲ့စင်၊ ကျွန်းလေးရပ်ကို၊ စိုးကွပ်သနင်း၊ စကြာမင်းတို့၊ ထန်ပြင်းတေဇာ၊ သုံးဆောင်ရာသည်၊ ရတ
နာနု၊ ဗုဒ္ဓနိလာ၊ မသာရကန်၊ ဝေသဝဏ်က၊ ရောင်ဝှန်တောက်ညို၊ ဝေလရိနှင့်၊ လောဟိတင်၊ ဖိနီရော်၊
မနော်ဓယ၊ ဇော်တရကို၊ အမျှထောင်းထု၊ ညက်အောင်ပြုမှ၊ ညစ်ကြစင်အောင်၊ အထောင်ကြိုက်တန်၊ ဆေး
ပြီးလွန်သော်၊ လုပ်ဟန်ထူးဆန်း၊ ပုံဖြင့်သွန်း၍၊ လုပ်ပန်းတင်းကြပ်၊ ဂွတ်သပ်ပြီးလျှင်၊ အရောင်ထင်သို့၊ မှတ်
တင်မည်မှည့်၊ မြ၏ဝင်းကို၊ မဆိုစသာ၊ ပြာ၏ပြတ်ပြတ်၊ မမှတ်သာလှည့်၊ ညို၏ဆိုမည်၊ သည်လည်းမရ၊
ထွန်းပအသရေ၊ အဝေထွေထွေသည်။ ။ထင်ချေအနည်းနည်းတည်လေ။ ။ပုံစံတည်ပြုရေးနှုန်းရာဝေး။ ။
လူတွင်တည်စံသွေးမမြင်သေး။ ။

၉။ ။ကြည့်လေကြည့်လေ၊ အထွေထွေလျှင်၊ ထင်ချေမည့်ပြင်၊ သို့ရာတွင်မျှ၊ မြင်မြင်သာသူ၊ လူတို့စိတ်နေ၊
မိန်းမောစေလျက်၊ ဝေဝေတိမ်ဆိုင်၊ မိုဗ်းလုံးမိုဗ်းသို့၊ မျှော်တိုင်းမူးသန်၊ နောက်ပြန်ညည်းခေါ်လည်း
မကြာ။ ။တိမ်းပါးညွတ်ခေါက်၊ သည်ကိုထောက်သော်၊ အံ့လောက်ချီးဆို၊ ညီသည်ဆင်းဝါ၊ အားကြီးရာ
၏။ လက္ခဏာညီလှ၊ ခြေဖျားကသည်၊ စသည်လည်လှည့်၊ ကိုယ်လုံးကြည့်သော်၊ တင်မည့်ပြစ်ဝင်၊ မထင်မြို့
မျှ၊ ခါးခတ်လှနှင့်၊ ရင်ဝမောက်မို၊ ပျိုပျိုနုထွား၊ လက်ဖျားသွယ်ရှည်၊ လှသည်လုံးလုံး၊ လက်ရုံးလည်တိုင်၊
နှိုင်းပြိုင်လွတ်ရှား၊ သွားလည်းနက်ရောင်၊ ပြောင်ပြောင်ဖိတ်လျှမ်း၊ နှုတ်ခမ်းယည်က၊ မတွဲမထောင့်၊ အ
ဆင်းသော်မှ၊ မှည့်ပျော်ကျီအာ၊ ပမာမပြား၊ နားလည်းလှဟန်၊ မလန်မကပ်၊ အကြိုက်လုပ်သို့၊ တွန့်ရှုပ်မ
ထင်၊ ကြံအင်စံပေါင်း၊ နှာခေါင်းတန်းတန်း၊ ရွာနန်းသည်၊ လျှံလန်းကြက်သရေတည်လေ။ ။မြတေ
တည်ရောင်ပြေးချမ်းငြိမ်းလေ။ ။ပြစ်ဆာတည်မြဲသေးရှင်းရှင်းဝေး။ ။

၁၀။ ။မျက်လုံးအသရေ၊ မြတေထွန်းပြောင်၊ ကော့မျက်တောင်နှင့်၊ မျက်မှောင်မျက်လုံး၊ မျက်ခုံးယဉ်
ကျ၊ နဖူးတိုရှည်၊ ဆံလည်ကြဟန်၊ လွန်လွန်ကြိုးကြိုး၊ ထူးထူးဆန်းဆန်း၊ နပန်းဆံကျ၊ စီလျက်လှ၏။ စိမ်း
မြကေသာ၊ သေးစွာသွယ်ရှည်၊ ထူးလည်ညီမော၊ ရောင်ကြောနက်နက်၊ လက်လက်ပြောင်ဖိတ်၊ မြင်သူစိတ်
ကို၊ ဝင်ချိတ်ပါအောင်၊ ယူဘိဆောင်သို့၊ ဖူးမှောင်မချီ၊ အဆံရှိ၏။ ဣဇ္ဇအံ့အံ့၊ တွဲတွဲတွဲတွဲ၊ ခဲခဲစိပ်စိပ်၊
ရံပြိုင်ပြိုင်၊ လန်းလန်းပြီးပြီး၊ နုမျိုးမက၊ ရွှေမြို့မြို့၊ အူအူရွှေ၊ ပွပွတွတ်တွတ်၊ မွတ်မွတ်မွေမွေ၊ မြေမြေညက်
ညက်၊ ညံ့သက်ထွားထွား၊ ရွှေသားလွေလွေ၊ နတ်အတွေ့နှင့်၊ တရွေတမှား၊ မပြားထပ်ရှိ၊ တုတ်လိမ့်မည်၊ ရွှေ
ရည်ရှုကျ၊ မြင်ကာမျှလျက်၊ ရွှေငြိမ်ငြိမ်၊ ထောင်ကြောစိပ်ရွှေ၊ ဖိပ်ဖိပ်သားရေ၊ နွဲ့လေတင်းကျမ်း၊ မြမြချမ်း
သည်။ ။ရွှမ်းရွှမ်းမရကံ တည်လေ။ ။ကြက်သီးတည်ထပြေး ကိုယ်လုံးဇေး၊ ။ဆုယူတည်စည် ရှေး
ကောင်းကျိုးပေး။ ။

၁၁။ ။ လူပြည်နိုင်ငံဝယ်။ နံနယ်ဆင်ပြင်။ ငါးအင်ညီမျှ။ လှကြသည်ပင်။ ရှုန်းရှင်အသရေ။ ယဉ်ပေသည်
ချည်။ အနည်းနည်းပင်။ တွေဘူးမြင်၍။ သခင်မယ်တော်။ လှကျော်စံတည်။ ယဉ်သည်ကားမြတ်နုသည်နှင့်ကို။
နှိုင်းချင့်စရာ။ အောက်မေ့ရှာသော်။ အရာမဟုတ်။ ပယုတ်နှင့်ဆား။ ငွေသားမှတ်ဘဲ။ ဘွယ်ကြီးမင်းစံ။ ဝေးလံ
နှိုင်းချိန်။ စိန်နှင့်သလင်း။ ပယင်းအင်တွဲ။ ပုလဲခရုပမာပြည့်။ ပုံတုဝေးဘိ။ ရယ်ဘွယ်ရှိ၏။ မိုးထိရွေစီ။
လက်ချီငေါ်။ ဖွဲ့နွဲ့သော်မျှ။ နော်မယာ။ ဥဗ္ဗာဒလှို။ ကလျာဏီလည်း။ စုံညီလှတင့်။ မယ်တော်နှင့်ကို။ နှိုင်း
ချင့်ပမာ။ ခုပေါ်လှာသော်။ အောက်သာကျချင်။ မှတ်ဘိထင်၏။ ထက်ခွင့်မိုးမှာ။ သူဇာဒေဝီ။ ဘရဟ္မာကို။
မြှောက်ချီသံချို။ ကမ်းဂန်ဆိုလည်း။ မြင်းရဲထိပ်ချာ။ အာကာဘုံနေ။ နတ်ဖြစ်ပေသည်။ တူးလရာ၏။ မ
လွန်လှည့်ဘူး။ နှိုင်းရှည်စံရာရာ။ လူရွာထိုထို။ လူချင်းဆိုကာ။ ရွယ်ပျိုထပ်ရှင်း။ မယ်တော်မင်း၏။ ထံရင်းတော်
မှာ။ မီးဝပ်လာသော်။ ညပ်ပြာခွေးတေ။ ရိုင်းကြချေ၍။ လေရမည်မှန်။ မြီးကန်သည်။ ။ ဖက်ရန်ဝေးခြားနား
တည့်လေ။ ။ ပြိုင်ရာတည့်တူချေးမရဝေး။ ။ ပင်လယ်တည့်ခြားဝေးချောင်ကွန့်ပြေး။ ။

၁၂။ ။ သူများမိန်းမ လှပကြသည်။ ပြသဆင်ယင်။ ခြယ်လွှဲထပ်ဆင့်။ ထုံးခြိတ်ဆင့်မှ။ ယဉ်နကြ၏။
မင်းလှမယ်တော်။ လှသည်သော်ကား။ တွေခေါ်မမှု။ အမြဲသက်သက်။ ခြယ်ဖက်မူပါ။ ဆင်ငတ်ခါမျှ။ ရှသာ
မျက်ပွင့်။ တော်လှသင့်၏။ နှု ရှင့်ခြယ်ဆင်။ ပျော်ရှင်မိုင်းရှိုင်း။ ယဉ်ရိုင်းမရွေး။ နီတွေးညီပြင်။ ရွှေဝါငွေသာ။
ဝတ်စားသမျှ။ ဆင်တိုင်းလှ၏။ စိန်မြဲကေသာ။ ထုံးခြိတ်မှာလည်း။ ဖွါဖွါပပ။ ရွှေစိပ်ခိုင်း။ နိမ့်နိမ့်မြင့်မြင့်။ စွင့်
စွင့်ရှည်ရှည်။ ထူးလည်ယကင်။ ထုံးတင်ခြိတ်လွတ်။ ဖြစ်တတ်သမျှ။ ကလံတိုင်မဲ့ဆဲ။ နှစ်ရာသီ။ နာရီခြောက်
ဆယ်။ နေ့လယ်ညခါ။ ညညခါသန်းကေင်။ သောက်ရောင်နေထွက်။ နံနက်နေမြင့်။ နေရင့်ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်။ ခပ်သိမ်အ
ခါ။ စက်ရာလျောင်းခွေ။ သွားနေတခါ။ ဣရိယာပထ။ လုံးစုံလှ၏။ သီလအာစာ။ ကျင့်သမာနှင့်။ အရာရာမျိုး။
နုယဉ်မိုးသည်။ ။ ရှေးကျိုးပါရမီ တည့်လေ။ ။ ကျေးဇူးတည့်စံသွေး ဂုဏ်နက်လေ။ ။ ပစ္စာတည့်မြဲ
သေးရှင်းရှင်းဝေး။ ။

၁၃။ ။ ယင်းသို့ကျေးဇူး။ အထူးထူးထို။ ။ ချစ်ကြောင်းရှိ၍။ သီရိထွန်းဝင်း။ မယ်တော်မင်းကို။ ရာစင်း
ကီးဆောင်။ ညွတ်ပြောင်းဦးချ။ တုတ်ခွန်သည်။ နရထိပ်ပေါ်။ ခမည်းတော်လျှင်။ သင့်လျော်အရာ။ မြှောက်
ထိုက်စွာဟု။ မင်္ဂလာသီရိ။ ကျော်သိပတ်လည်။ ရွှေဘွဲ့မည်နှင့်။ ရံသည်ပတ်ချုပ်။ ကိုယ်လုပ်တော်ကြီး။ မြှောက်ခြီး
ထံပါ။ အရာထား၍။ သာဗျားညွတ်ခါ။ လုပ်ကျွေးရ၏။ သည်ပသင့်တော်ကံ။ ထိုက်လျှောက်စွာဘိ။ သီရိရတနာ။
ဘွဲ့မည်သာနှင့်။ ရံကာမောင်းမ။ ညွတ်ခပ်တံသန်။ ဝန်းရံကိုယ်လုပ်။ တအုပ်တထွေ။ အံ့ရံရွှေနှင့်။ ရဝေပြောင်ရွှန်း
ရွှေနန်းစံထား။ အားလုံးသာပျော်။ နန်းတော်တောင်စဉ်။ ယဉ်သည်ရွှေချ။ ထွန်းပပြောင်ပြောင်။ နန်းတန်ဆောင်
ကို။ အခေါ်ဘုန်းတူ။ တင်တော်မူ၍။ ညွန့်လူသာစံ။ ဝေါပုယည်ကျ။ နှစ်ဖက်ဦးကို။ ထွန်းမြူးရောင်ပြေးရွှေပြည့်
ချေးလျက်။ ကျိုင်းခြောက်ချက်သည်။ ။ ပြီးပြန်ရောင်ခြည်ဖြာတည့်လေ။ ။ တင့်တယ်တည့်ငြိမ်းစေးမင်းမှု
ရေ။ ။ ယည်ယည်တည့်ချေးချေးနုသေးသေး။ ။

၁၄။ ။ တင့်တင့်တယ်တယ်။ ရှုဖွယ်ထူးလည်။ စည်လည်းသာဖြော။ စည်ပြောကိုလုံး။ သာဆုံးမည်း။
နှီးကြီးသုံးသွယ်။ နှီးငယ်လေးဖြော။ ငွေခရာနှင့်။ ဘုံသာဇဉ်ပုတ်။ တီးချုတ်လင်းကွင်း။ ညင်းညင်းသာသာ။
အဆောင်မှာလည်း။ ရတနာပြီးပြန်။ ကွမ်းကွက်မြိတ်။ ရောင်ဖိတ်ပတ္တမြား။ စီသန်ခြားလျက်။ ထိုလားတူရီ။
လက်ဖက်အိုးနှင့်။ ပြီးပြီးရောင်ဖိတ်။ တကောင်းပိတ်လည်း။ မျက်ပိတ်မိမှာ။ ပတ္တမြားနှင့်။ မပြာခြယ်ဆင်။ ထွေးအင်
ရွှေလုပ်။ ဆေးကြပ်ရွှေသာ။ ပတ္တမြားဆေးတံ။ ထွန်းလျှံဝင်းဝါ။ တင့်တယ်စွာနှင့်။ မြိတ်ရာတင်ထား။ မိဘုရားဟု။
မြှောက်စားတော်မူ။ ညွန့်လူထွန်းပ။ ထင်ရှားလှသည်။ ။ ပည်းမျှချွေရံကာတည့်လေ။ ။ မည်သည်တည့်လို
ရေးတောင့်တဝေး။ ။ စမ္ပယ်တည့်ငြိမ်းလေးချမ်းသာ။ ။

၁၅။ ။ ဘုန်းတော်ကြက်သရေ။ တိုးလေလေလျှင်။ ဝေဝေရွှန်းတင့်။ လန်းလန်းပွင့်၏။ သခင်မယ်တော်။
လှကျော်စံပေါင်း။ တင့်တယ်ကြောင်းကို။ ပျံလှောင်းကြိုင်မြို့။ ပန်းမထူးသည်။ ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်။ သခင်နုနယ်။

မင်းငယ်ကိုမိမိရွှေနားချီလေ့။ သီရိရတနာ၊ ပြည်တော်သာနှင့်၊ စံရာရွှေချ၊ တောင်နန်းကလည်၊ သည်မျှတတန်။ ကံလွန်ရာမြင့်၊ တင်ပေသင့်ဟု၊ ရာမင်းငေးဖျား၊ ရွှေစိတ်ထား၍။ ဂုဏ်အားလျော်လှ။ ရာဇအေဝီ၊ မဟေသီဟု သိက္ခိဘွဲ့မျှ။ အပ်ဆက်စေ၍၊ ရဝေပြောင်ရွှန်း၊ ရွှေနန်းစံဘောင်။ သာခေါင်ကျူးကြော်၊ ရွှေနန်းတော်ဝင်း၊ သာဖျော်နုယဉ်။ နောက်စဉ်တဆောင်။ ရွှေနန်းတောင်သို့၊ အခေါင်နတ်တူ၊ တင်တော်မူ၍။ ဇမ္ဗူယဉ်ကျော် ဝေီတော်ထိန်ဖြာ၊ ရတနာကရာ။ ရွှေသားပြုံးပြက်၊ ကျိုင်းခြောက်ချက်မူလက်လက်ရောင်ဖြူ။ ကျိုင်းနိုးကွပ် လစ်။ ။ ရွှေကုန်းဆစ်သည်။ ။ ပြေပြစ်ချောလုပ်ဆောင်တည်လေ။ ။ ပြောင်ပြောင်တည့်နီးဝေးလှပ်ခြည် ပြေ။ ။ နောင်ခါတည့်ဆင်ရေးချိန်ခွင်လေ။ ။

၁၆။ ။ နောက်တိုးမင်္ဂလာ။ ညွှန်ဖြာလှည့်၊ မြောက်စည်ခုနစ်။ ဆွံ့တစ်စည်မြော၊ ငွေကြောစင်ကြယ်။ နှုံးငယ်နှစ်စင်း၊ သံပြင်းတကျိုး။ တံပိုးနှစ်ဖြာ၊ ခရာသုံးတည်။ တံရှည်တံမြွေ၊ သံသာလင်းကွင်း။ ခရုလင်းနှင့်။ ညှင်းညှင်းသာထွေ၊ သံပြေသံလွန်း၊ စည်ဝန်းရိုက်ခြိုး၊ နှိုးကြိုးသည်တပ်။ လက်ကြပ်စည်ပုတ်၊ ယဉ်ချုပ်သာခေါင်း ဆောင်ယောင်တင့်တယ်။ သာကြယ်ငိုငို၊ ဝန်အိပ်သာစံ။ သုံးခံမြို့၊ လောက်ငဖြင့်ညှိ။ အကြီးစာရေး၊ ဖွေးဖွေးလူမိုလ်၊ အခိုအမှီ။ စိစိသောသော၊ ပျံ့ပြောဝပ်၊ ယူငင်မနိုင်။ ဆောင်ကိုင်မတ်ပျို၊ နဂိုရဲလုံလန်း။ ရွှေနန်းသာခေါင်၊ အဆောင်တော်၊ မြိုးရိုးသီရိမြတ်မိဘုရား၊ ရာထားပီပီ၊ ချီချီပပ၊ ချီးလျှောက်ရသည်။ ။ မည်မှမျှမတင်တည်လေ။ ။ စုံအင်တည့်မင်းရေးကင်းယဉ်ချေး။ ။ သည်ပြင် တည့်တိုးရေးနောက်လို သေး။ ။

၁၇။ ။ တပျံ့ပျိုးပျိုးလွှဲကျွေးသံညှင်း၊ နားတော်သွင်းသည်။ မင်းဦးထိပ်နေ၊ သရေရွှန်းရွှင်၊ ရွှေနားတင် လော့၊ ရုပ်သွင်ထွန်းပ၊ တို့ထိပ်စကို၊ အလှစံထား၊ မယ်တော်ဖွား၍၊ များများမကြာ။ ရာဇာဏ်ပေါ်၊ မမည်း တော်လျှင်၊ ရှုမြော်လေးမြတ်။ ငသည်းပွတ်ဟု၊ မည်မှတ်သာယာ။ မြင်းဝန်းရွာကို၊ သည်းချာကြင်စေး၊ ဆောက် နှင်းပေး၏၊ ကံကျွေးဖြင့်ပည်၊ စေလည်းထပ်ကာ၊ မှီစည်သာကို၊ မေတ္တာကြည်ဖြူ၊ ပေးတော်မူ၏၊ သက်တူတမျှ။ ချီးထိန်းသလည်း၊ တူကွဲမြဲချက်၊ ကစားဘက်မူ၊ ငယ်သက်နုနယ်၊ ရွယ်တရွယ်ချည်း။ ပည်းမျှချော်ဖြေ၊ ထွေထွေ ရှုတ်ရှက်၊ သားငှက်ရွှေသာ၊ သေချာလုပ်ဆောင်၊ ရွှေကြက်ပေါင်နှင့်၊ ပျော်အောင်သာချို၊ မပိုစေချ၊ သိပ်ပြောင် ဘိတ်၊ ရွှေထိပ်ရွှေချို။ ဇမ္ဗူရောင်ဝင်း၊ ခြေခြင်းလက်ကောက်၊ စံမြောက်ရတနာ၊ တန်ဆာစုံအင်၊ လေးလှယ်ဆင် ၍၊ ထိပ်ပြင်လက်ဖျား၊ ချော်ကြဖြားသည်။ ဆပွားကြင်သက်စုံတည့်လော့။ ။ ချစ်ကိုတည့်မြတ်လေးချစ် သက်ပေး။ ။ မိမိမြတ်တော်ပြေးရွှေစွေ။ ။

၁၈။ ။ အလွယ်အလွယ်၊ မကျယ်ရိုးချဉ်း၊ အကျဉ်းသာမျှ၊ စိုးစဉ်းပြု၍၊ မင်းလှမယ်တော်၊ လှကျော်ရောင် ဆင်။ တင့်တယ် ခြင်းနှင့်၊ မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ၊ တို့မျက်မြေကို၊ ဘုန်းနေရောင်ရွှန်း၊ ဖြိုးဖြိုးလင်းသည်။ ထိပ်ပန်းခွေးဘ၊ မြတ်လှသည်ချာ၊ ကြင်နာနာတောင်း၊ ချစ်ကြင်ကြောင်းကို၊ သံညောင်းချိုသာ၊ ကျွေးလျှော့ပီရှင်၊ ခုမှတမျှ။ ဘုန်းလူဝေဆင့်၊ ဖြာဖြာတင့်သည်။ ရှင့်ခမည်းတော်၊ လှကျော်ထူးချွန်၊ ယဉ်ကျေးဟန်ကို၊ တတန်ရှိမြောက်၊ ကျွန်တော်လျှောက်မည်။ လျှံတောက်ဆင်းဝါ၊ မြတ်အင်္ဂါဖြင့်၊ မြက်နှာမြီတော၊ ကြက်သရေရှိလှ၊ လဝန်းပသို့။ တမျှမယွင်း၊ ထွန်းရောင်ဝင်းသား၊ မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ၊ ဘုန်းညွန့်ဝေသည်။ ။ မှတ်နေရွှေနားညွတ်တည့်လော့။ ။ မင်းမြတ်တည့်မင်းမြေးမင်းရင်သွေး။ ။ သိင်္ဂါတည့်ရောင်ပြေးနန်းတက်မွေ။ ။

၁၉။ ။ နန်းလုံးအသက်၊ နှင်းဆက်ရရာ၊ ရတနာမြတ်ဆုံး၊ ပုလဲးကိုးကျိ၊ ခေါင်းလုံးသာရွှင်၊ တင်ကာပျံပျံ။ ချစ်ရူးမူသည်၊ ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်၊ သခင်ဘုန်းမွေ၊ နပစ်စွေးလော့။ ချီကျွေးနတ်လူ၊ အောင်ဆုယူသည်။ ဘုန်းတူ ထွန်းပေါ်၊ ခမည်းတော်ကို၊ ပြောင်ကျော်ပျံလှ၊ ငွေဘင်နုသည်၊ ဆင်ဖြူသခင်၊ ဘိုးနတ်ရှင်နှင့်။ ထားတင်နန်းမ၊ စိုးရဲမြတ်ဖျား၊ ဘဘုရားလှင်၊ နှင်းပီးစိတ်တူ။ ညွန့်လူနန်းဝင်း၊ အိမ်ရွှေနှင်း၍၊ လုံးရင်းအားအင်၊ မြင်းဆင်မွှေး မော်၊ ဂန်းပတ်သင်းပင်း၊ ထွန်းဝင်းပြောင်ပြောင်၊ မင်းဆောင်မင်းရွက်၊ ကျင်းပလျက်သွင်၊ ပြုံးပြက်ထိန်ဖြာ၊ ဝေီ သိင်္ဂါထက်၊ ဆိတ်စာဖြူလှပ်၊ သျှောင်မျက်ကွပ်နှင့်၊ လျင်လျင်ရောင်ထင်၊ ရှောင်ကျင်ကြောထွန်း၊ ဝေဂ်နလျှံ

လည်။ ပရိတ်ချည်လည်။ ထူးလည်ကျူးကျော်။ ဝတ်လဲတော်မူ။ ပျိုတော်တို့ဆက်။ ဆေးရေခွက်နှင့်။ သေ။
ညက် ချောညိုအင်္ကျီကျည်းဖွပ်။ ကိုသံသားကပ်နှင့်။ အောင်ရပ်မြတ်နိုး။ ဘုန်းစည်ခန်းက။ ပွင့်လန်းညွန့်
လှ။ ထွက်တော်မူသည်။ ပြိုင်တူနတ်တမျှတည့်လေး။ ဆိုခွင့်တည့်ဆိုရေးဖြစ်ခဲ့ဝေ။ လူတွင်း
တည့်ပြိုင်ရေးလူမျိုးဝေး။ ။

၂၀။ မွေးဘာဘုရား။ နုထွားဆင်ပြင်။ အိမ်ရှေ့ရှင်သည်။ သဘင်စံခန်း။ အိမ်တော်ဆန်းသို့။ ချည်သွန်
သက္ကရာဇ်။ တွက်စစ်များမြောင်။ တထောင်ပြီပြီ။ ကိုးဆွဲတခု။ ဥတုဂိမ္မန်။ ယုဂ်နတ်မိမူန့်။ ကဆုန်ဆန်းပေါ်။ ပြည့်
ကျော်အထွက်။ ဆွဲတချက်နေ့။ ချမ်းမြေ့သာကြည်။ ပြောင်းရမည်ဟု။ ဘုန်းခြည်ရောင်ချက်။ ရုံးသို့ထွက်သည်။
ရွှေစက်လျှိုးချေ။ များစိတ်တော်ကိုထင်ပေါ်အလို့။ သင်းသင်းပျံသော်။ မျှော်ငုံဝမ်းသာ။ ရက်များစွာကာ။
အရာခြားခြား။ မင်းသားတသီး။ မင်းသမီးနှင့်။ မတ်ကြီးသည်။ ချား။ ကညာတခြား။ မတ်များကစ။ ကြီးမရွယ်အို။
အပျိုအလတ်။ မလွတ်မကြင်။ အိမ်တွင်ပုန်းအောင်းသူကောင်းသူနပ်။ တည်ချပ်မဲ့သား။ ဝတ်စားတန်ဆာ။
မွေရှာလုပ်ဆောင်။ ထူထောင်ငှဲယမ်း။ ကြွေးပမ်းထူပူ။ ကြွေးပင်ယူ၍။ ရွန်းလူရွှင်ပ။ ဝတ်စားကြလျက်။ သာလှ
မည်ခံ။ တုံ့နန်းရွှေ။ အကြွေလမ်းမပြင်တန်းကလည်း။ စ၍စဉ်လျှား။ ကျွဲနားတလျှောက်။ ထပ်လောက်တုံတုံ။
ကျော်တုံတုံခါ။ ဝင်ခဲ့သွား၍။ နန်းရွှေသာဇျော်။ အိမ်တော်ရွှေရောင်။ အပေါက်မထင်။ တင်တင်ပြီးမျှကြည့်
ကုန်ကြသည်။ ပိုးရွာပျားပလူတည့်လေ။ ပုံတူတည့်မဝေးရှက်ကွဲ။ ကိုယ်ငွေတည့်ရှိပြီးချောင်းချောင်း
နွေး။ ။

၂၁။ မလင်းခင်မှီ။ မိုင်းရီရီက။ စောစောထ၍။ လာကြမျှော်လင့်။ တထင့်ထင့်လျှင်။ နေမြင့်လှတောင်း။
ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ပြောင်းသည်။ ခညောင်း၏။ ပမာ။ မသာမမှတ်။ အထွတ်ရည်မှန်။ နန်းရန်တည်ထား။ ဘုရားကိုသာ။ မျှော်ငုံခါ
ဝယ်။ ပူ။ နေဝါလယ်ချို။ မိုးကိုခိုင်သ။ အစိုးရသို့။ ပည်းမျှတောင်းလေ။ မိန်းမလေးလျက်။ နေကိုထားကာ။ ပွင့်လျှာ
နန်းထောက်။ ကြွလာရောက်သော်။ ရွှေမှောက်ချပ်သွင်။ ချက်တွေမြင်၍။ ရှင်နှင့်ပုဏ္ဏား။ လူအိုများက။ ဘုရားလှ
ချာ။ မွေးဘရာကို။ ဆက်ကာမည့်။ ရွှေသို့မိုးလျက်။ တန်းခိုးလေးဖြူ။ ပြည့်စုံစွာသည်။ ခုတနာသတ္တံစုံတကွလျှင်။
စကြာသခင်။ မျက်မြင်ထင်ရှား။ ဖြစ်စေသားဟု။ မြောက်စားချီးသောင်း။ ကြည်နှစ်ထောင်းသည်။ ဆုတောင်း
အကြိမ်ကြိမ်တည့်လေ။ အောင်ရာတည့်သံလေးကျွေးရင်း။ ပဲ့တင်တည့်ထပ်ပြေးတော်ရိုက်ကြွေး။

၂၂။ အံ့ဘွယ်ဖြစ်လွန်း။ အထွလဆန်းလျှင်။ ဥဒါန်းစဉ်းသာ။ ပြောပရာကိုဆင်းဝါရွှေလျော်။ ကိုယ်တော်
အနံ့တပျံ့ပျူးပျူး။ ကြိုင်နံ့မြီးသည်။ ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်။ သခင်နုထွတ်။ စေ့စေ့မှတ်လော့။ အမတ်သမီး။ မင်းသမီးက။
စသည်ပျိုငယ်။ လတ်ရွယ်တခြား။ တချို့များက။ စကားမည်မျှ။ မဟတတ်နိုင်သွားပါခိုင်၍။ အိုင်၍ဖြင့်သီး။
တုတ်တုတ်စီးသည်။ အနီးတိုင်ဖူးစပ်ရှက်ကူး၏။ ပုံထူးတလည်။ တချို့သည်လည်းလိုက်မည်တခါ။ ဇွယ်ရာမ
ကောင်း။ တယောက်ခေါင်းကိုနှိပ်ထောင်းနင်းသွား။ ကျော်မိမား၍။ ချောက်ချားသည်။ ချား။ တချို့မှာလည်း။
ပွင့်လျှာထိပ်စ။ ထိပ်ထားလှငယ်။ ခဏလာတည့်။ တက်ပါလှည့်ဟု။ တည့်တည့်ခံချို။ ဆို၍လက်ဝါ။ ရပ်မိမှာ။
၏။ ဖြစ်လားက။ ကျော်။ တချို့သော်လည်း အပေါ်တခြား။ တယောက်ပါးကို။ သွား၍ပေးမှာ။ နမ်းမိမား၏။
ရင်ကားပျိုပျို။ တချို့ရယ်ခေ။ ခင်ဝယ်လျှောလျက်။ ခေလည်းပီတိ။ မောမချိ၍။ မသိလျှင်ဘူး။ မူးမူးသိတိ။ မျက်စိ
မလှည့်။ တပ်တပ်ကြည့်လျက်။ မမျက်ဖနောင့်။ နိမ့်ဆောင့်ကြိတ်ပွတ်။ အဝတ်ကကျ။ သင်မြီးကသာ။ မျှာက
ထုတ်ချောက်။ မြေသို့ရောက်သည်။ ထပ်လျှောက်မရောင့်ရဲတည့်လေ။ အသာတည့်စိမ့်ပြေးမပြေ
သေ။ ကိုယ်လုံးတည့်ချမ်းစေ့ဖြူဖြူချွေ။ ။

၂၃။ အိမ်ရှေ့တမ်းခွန်။ ဘုန်းညွန့်သန်သည်။ နန်းရန်မှန်ကင်း။ ဝင်းတော်တွင်းသို့။ မယွင်းနတ်တူ။ ဝင်တော်
မူသော်။ ပြောထူးခြား။ ခိုနန်းမများကား။ တိမ်းပ။ သွတ်ခေါက်။ သည်းချားချောက်လျက်။ တအောက်မေ့မေ့။
စေ့စေ့ရပ်သွင်။ ထင်သည်တိုင်ရှု။ တင့်နှင့်ပြန်ခဲ့အိမ်ရာ။ ရောက်သောခါလည်း။ ပွင့်လျှာရည်ထင်။ ရှင့်ဘခင်ကို။
ဆွတ်ကြင်ဝမ်းက။ တပ်ရာဂကြောင့်။ ယူတတမ်းယမ်း။ လွမ်းသည်မပြေ။ ဆူဝေသည်နောက်။ ပတောက်ပရစ်။

ကြွေးဟစ်ဆိုမှားထိပ်ထားထိပ်ထား။ ဘုရားသခင်။ အိမ်ရှေ့ရှင်ငယ်။ ဖြစ်ည့်စိ။ ဣဒ္ဓိပြည့်ပျို။ ပိုသည်မောက်လှ။ ရွှေမွတ်ညက်။ ခဲရင်ထက်ဝယ်။ လျောင်းစက်အင်ပြည့်။ ဖြည့်ပါလှည့်ဟု။ ဆိုတည့်မိမှား။ ပျော်ပါးစံခင်း။ သန့်ရှင်းမွေရာ။ ရိပ်ငြိမ်သာနိုး။ ရှိခိုးတုံဝပ်။ မြေလက်သပ်ရွှေ။ ပြည်ရပ်ခန့်ဟန်။ ဖန်ဖန်ထွေပြာ။ လုပ်ကစားရွှေ။ မေ့မှားယွင်းချွတ်။ မပျော်တတ်သော်။ သေးမြတ်ဆွေဝါး။ မြောက်သားမိဘ။ မသယညီသသည်။ သမသက္ကာရတည့်လေ။ ကြံရည်တည့်ကြံသွေးရောရှက်ထွေး။ သည့်ပြင်တည့်ငြိမ်းချေးလဲလဲပေ။ ။

၂၄။ ခွဲဥပါဒါန်။ အလွန်ဖြစ်သား။ တချို့များလည်း။ ရှည်လျားနေရက်။ သည်းချေပျက်၍။ ခဲခက်ဆေးဝါသမားလက်ချ။ စိတ်လျော့ကြသော်။ ကာလခုတိုင်။ ဈေးဆိုင်စသည်။ ရပ်တိုင်းလည်ရွှေ။ မတည်ကြည်တိရွေးလျက်ရှိ၏။ သတိဝတ်။ ရှိ၍ရပ်တည်။ တချို့သည်လည်း။ ဘုန်းစည်မင်းလောင်းရှင်အကြောင်းကို။ ထပ်သေးငံကြိမ်ကြိမ်။ မထိခံမဂုဏ်။ နေ့ရက်ရှည်တား။ ကြိုက်သံပဲနှင့်။ ဖွေရှာထွေဆန်။ ပြောစာလွန်၍။ ချစ်မှန်ရည်စားလင်သားချက်ပါ။ မနာလိုလှည့်။ ကြည်ပသိုစင်။ ထွတ်ရှင်မုန့်ကင်း။ အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းမှား။ ပြင်းပြင်းလွန်လျှ။ ပိုက်ကွန်မလည်း။ နေကျမှတ်သာ။ ထည့်လေးဟု။ ဖွားဖွားမျက်မိုး။ ဆုံးရေးဆို၍။ ထိုထိုရှေ့နောက်။ တင်မြှောက်ပတ်ရစ်ခနစ်အိမ်ကြာ။ ထင်ရှားပေါက်ပြု။ ရန်ဖြစ်ကြ၏။ ပြင်းပြမျက်ခန်း။ အလွန်တရာ။ တချို့မှာလည်း။ ဆရာမိဘ။ ဆုမွတ်တည်ကြပ်။ မစပ်စေ့နိုင်။ ဆိုဆိုတရား။ လက်ဘက်စားရွှေ။ လားလားရှင်းကွာ။ ပြတ်စီးစွာသည်။ ရှည်ကြာခုတိုင်အောင်တည့်လေ။ နောက်အိမ်တည့်ထောင်မွှေးမြင်းသားမြေ။ မျက်မြင်တည့်မဝေးရှိကြသေး။

၂၅။ သည်ပတတည်း။ ဆုံစည်ပြင်လျှာ။ ရုပ်ဝါဆန်းထူးလှနေကူးသည်။ ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်။ သခင်တို့မယ်။ ရှင်မြူးငယ်လေး။ ရပ်ကွယ်ပျော်ခင်းသို့။ ပို့အင်းသို့။ ပြည်လင်းချေလျှင်။ ဖေါက်ဖြိုးဝင်သော်။ သဘင်မင်းမှ။ မနုဿဉ်ထောင်း။ ရွှေလှေပေါင်းနှင့်။ ပျော်ကြေင်းလှည့်လည်။ စမ္ပယ်မည်ကို။ နန်းရည်ရာထား။ ဘသည်းကြာမှန်သည်။ ပျော်ပါးဇေယျ။ ဖြည့်။ မောင်လိုက်လှည့်ဟု။ ယဉ်သည့်ထိပ်တင်းရှင်ဘခင်ကို။ ဘိုးခင်နတ်တူ။ ခေါ်တော်မူ၍။ ဝေပူမျက်ရှင်။ ရှောင်ကျင်လျှလည်။ ပရိတ်ရည်သည်း။ ရောင်ခြည်လျှလျှ။ ရှောင်ပေါင်းကြပ်နှင့်။ ချုပ်စပ်ဝတ်လဲ။ ဖိုးကုံးလျှပတ်။ မင်းဝတ်ပြုပြီး။ အင်္ကျီဝတ်။ မှားခါသလွပ်ပါ။ ကိုယ်တော်သားနှင့်။ အခြားမထင်။ ဝတ်ဆင်ယင်လျက်။ နတ်ပင်ကေန်။ မှန်၏။ ဇာတိဆိုင်မှော။ ထူးပြားအသရေ။ မြဲတောရောင်မြို့။ ဘောင်တော်ဦးငယ်။ ကြည်နူးရှိလျက်။ အစုံရှက်၍။ ငြိမ်သက်တည်နေ။ ဣန္ဒြေနှင့်။ ပြစ်ပြေယးစီးလိုက်ရသည်။ ရှုန်းပရွှင်ပတ်ဖြိုးဘည့်လေ။ ပြိုင်သူတည့်ဖက်ဝေးနုယဉ်ကျေး။ မင်ရောင်တည့်ပွင့်မွှေးမင်းရင်သွေး။ ။

၂၆။ အသရူပ။ မည်ရတွင်ခေါ်။ လျှပ်နှင့်လျော်သည်။ ဆောင်တော်ရတနာ။ ဆိုက်ယည်သာကာ။ သိင်္ဂါရောင်ဝှန်း။ ရွှေဝေါကန်၍။ အလွန်ဖြည်းသား။ ညင်းညင်းခွါးသား။ ရှည်လျာနန်းခင်။ ရှင်ဘမင်းကို။ လျှိုင်းရဝေ။ နန်းရိပ်နေသည်။ တရွှေတအုပ်။ မင်းကိုလုပ်က။ သွင်ရုပ်လှကျော်။ ယျိုတော်တတည်း။ မြင်သည်သမီး။ ရပ်သီးဝေးလံ။ နိုင်ငံတကွင်း။ စိုးသည်မင်းတို့။ ရင်တွင်းသည်ကြာ။ စေဘွားသမီး။ ပုံဖြိုးထင်စည်။ ကြည့်ကြသည်ကာ။ သုံးတည်ထွန်းပ။ ပြတင်းဝက။ ထပ်မျှတင်တင်။ တိုးဝင်မလောက်။ တယောက်ကိုင်ငင်။ တယောက်ဝင်သော်။ သည်တွင်ပင်သာ။ မျက်မနပ်၍။ အနာအရူးဆိုမိကြ၏။ သည်မှတပါး။ အနားပိုးပေါက်။ တောင်မြောက်ကြည့်ကြ။ ရှာမရသော်။ လျော်လှရပ်ဆောင်။ ပြည်ထောင်စေသား။ ရရာမီးနှင့်။ စပ်ကြီးလည်းဖေါက်။ သံတိကျောက်နှင့်။ ရိုက်ခေါက်ဖျက်ဆီး။ ပန်းကြိုးအာသာ။ စိန်ကြာမျှ။ ခြာခြာထက်ပင်။ ကြည့်ကြချင်သည်။ ရှာတင်တိုးမအားတည့်လေ။ အရာတည့်မရွေးအထွေးထွေး။ ဖြစ်တင်တည့်မင်းချေးခန့်မကွေ။ ။

၂၇။ ယုတ်ချက်တွန်းပယ်။ ငင်တွယ်ဆွဲကိုင်။ ပိုင်နိုင်တခြား။ သာဗျားနှုတ်ချို။ ဆို၍။ တချို့။ နှစ်လိုရှင်ပြု။ ခဏမျှသာ။ ကြည့်ကြရာတွင်။ အကာပျဉ်က။ ကြွတည့်ငေါ်လောင်။ ပေါ်သည်မဟုတ်။ မျက်ခုံးနဖူး။ ရှု၍။ စူး၏။ ဆူးကိုနှုတ်ချို။ သွေးကျသွေးဆင်း။ ယင်းသည်အနာ။ အမာတင်ပွါး။ အသားရှုပ်တစ်။ အရွတ်ဖြစ်၏။ နှစ်ဆစ်ရှည်ပြဝ။ မျက်မွှေးပေါက်မြို့။ မဖေါက်ဖဲနှင့်။ အစွဲအနေးသက်သေသက်ကန်။ မှန်၏။ မယုတ်။ ဟုတ်စိမ့်ချပ်တည်။ ရောမည်၏။ ရည်၏။ သို့ပင်။ မျက်တင်ကင်လျှင်။ အထင်မသိ။ ခုတိုင်ရှိ၏။ ဇာတိလွန်လေ။ သင်္ချေကမ္ဘာ။ သစ္စာ

ပွင့်ကြောင်၊ ရည်ချောင်း၍ သာစေတနာနှင့်။ ကြည်စွာပိတ်၊ မောမိဝန်းကျင်။ ငေါ်ပြင်ကို၊ သန့်စင်လှစွာ။
ဆောလျင်လာ၍၊ ဆွမ်းအာဟာရ၊ လှူဒါနနှင့်တောက်ပဝင်းဝင်း။ သုအဆင်ကို၊ ကြည်ရွှင်းရှုကာ၊ ဣစ္ဆာမဲ့လှင်း။
မရွှေဘင်းသည်၊ မင်းမင်းထိပ်စုရှင်အမိပတ်၊ ပါဒီ၊ ကြောင့်။ ချဉ်းဘုန်းတော်၊ တောက်ထွန်းပေါ်သည်။ ။
လှကော်ပြင်ဘက်လွတ်ဘဉ်လေ။ ။ ခြေလက်တည့်နီတွေးဆင်းချိပ်သွေး။ ဆိုရာတည့်ပြစ်သွေးဝေကြီး
ဝေ။ ။

၂၇။ ။ သည်ပဆင်ထပ်၊ ရင်အပ်နန်းပွဲ။ အံ့အံ့စရာ၊ ရတနာဇာရုံ၊ ရွှေဥရွှေခွံ၊ ပုလင်းဇော်တမင်းလှတုန်းထူး။
ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်၊ သခင်တို့ဘွား။ နာမုတ်လားလေ။ နုထွားပျိုထွတ်။ ရွန်းယဉ်မြတ်သည်။ ရည်မှတ်နန်းလျှာ။
ဥပရာလျှင်၊ စကြာပြန့်မှူး၊ တောင်တော်ဦးဝယ်၊ အေးကြူစရာ၊ စီလျက်ပါဟု။ သာသည်ပျော်ခင်း၊ အလယ်ဝင်းက။
မယွင်းထပ်တူ၊ ကောင်ဝင်းသူနှင့်၊ ဖြူဖြူညိုညို၊ အပျိုတထွေ၊ မြောက်ဝင်းနေတိုး၊ သံခြေဆင့်ပွါး။ ပြောဆိုကြားသော်၊
လျင်လျားမကြာ၊ ကြည့်မည်လာသည်။ လှေမှာလှယက် အများထွက်၍၊ လှေတက်လည်းပြီ။ အလိုထိပ်ထား။
ထင်မှားလျက်ပင်၊ နာကျင်ရောင်ချမ်း။ မည်သံပြွမ်းမှူး၊ မသံကြသေး။ အပြေးလှော်ယက်၊ တက်တချို့မှာ။
မပါလက်ချည်း။ ခက်သည်းမှားလျှင်၊ သို့ပင်တိုက်မိုး၊ လှေချင်းထိ၍။ ကြိတ်မိလက်ခြေ၊ သာဒေးစုတ်ဖြစ်။
လှေနှစ်သည်လည်း၊ မနည်းများပင်၊ ခေါ်ဝင်အသံ၊ စီစီကျံလျက်။ လှေနှံကိုဆွဲ။ အံ့တွဲ၏သို့၊ တချို့နောက်ကျ။
လှေမရသော်၊ ပြင်ပရူမူးရေကိုကူး၍၊ စူးစူးရည်သွား၊ တံခါကိုဖျပ်၊ ပျဉ်ထောင်ကိုဆွဲ။ ကြည့်မရဲသည်။ မ
မြီးလက်လွတ်ကာတည့်လေ။ ။ အဖိတည့်နီဝေးရှာပြန်သေး။ ။ လင်းနှိုတည့်ပုံသွေးလက်ချိတ်ကွေး။

၂၈။ ။ ဝင်းတော်ရံတာ၊ တံခါးပေါက်စ၊ ငွေမျှားလှ၍။ ကြပ်ကြလှေချင်း၊ မဆန္ဒလင်းသော်၊ နောက်
ကြွင်းလှေသား၊ တချို့များ ၇ ကျိုးစားခဲခက်၊ ဝင်းကိုတက်၍။ အုတ်ကြက်ဖြိုးမျှ၊ ကြည့်ကြစီလျှင်၊ မိန့်မောစဉ်။
ဝယ်၊ တန်ပျဉ်ဟောင်နား၊ ကြိုးကြားမှာလည်း၊ ထွေကာပူးတွဲ။ ရေထဲသို့ကျ၊ ခိုက်ထိကြ၍၊ စုတ်ယူသွေးယို။
အလိုထိပ်တင်၊ တခေါင်လျက်၊ နာကျင်ရောင်ဖူး၊ ခိုက်မိန့်မှူး၍။ ရေကူးမတတ်၊ လက်လွတ်သည်သူ၊ တချို့မူ
လည်း၊ အလှူသော်မျှ၊ အနိစ္စသို့၊ ရောက်ချလေဇွေ။ လာတည့်ယူဝင်၊ ဆယ်ခင်၍ သားခန္ဓာဇာတိ၊ မဆုံးရှိ၏။
ခိုက်ထိရရှာ၊ ပဲ့ရုံမှာလည်း၊ နှစ်ကြာရှည်ထောက်၊ သည်၍ ရောက်အောင်၊ မှန်လျောက်ဖော်ပြ၊ သက်သေချ
သည်။ ။ တင်လှကောက်ထက်စာတည့်လေ။ ။ ဧရာတည့်စိုက်ကွေးကွေးကွင်းရေ။ ။ ပုတ် လေးက်
တည့်ပုံသွေးမကသေး။ ။

၂၉။ ။ သည်ပြင်လည်းရှင်၊ ရွှေစင်နိက္ခ၊ ပုံသွန်းချသို့။ အလှရောင်ဆင်း၊ ပြစ်မျိုးကင်းသည်၊ မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ။
ခွဲဝေတို့သက်၊ ရွှေနားရွက်လေဘု၊ ထွက်ချက်ခေါင်ချာ၊ စိုးလျာရည်ထင်၊ ဘနတ်ရှင်သည်။ ထွက်ဝင်တင့်နိုင်။
စမ္ပယ်တိုင်းပင်းချုပ်ထိုင်းမဲ့ပါ၊ မေတ္တာရာဂ၊ အားကြီးလှ၍။ မိန်းမတကာ၊ အရူးပါမှ၊ မူရာထူးပြာ၊ အခြားခြာ။
လျှင်၊ စည်လျားနောင်နှစ်၊ ပျော်ရာဖြစ်သော်၊ သစ်သစ်ဖန်ဖန်၊ များလွန်စွာဘိ၊ ထွေထွေရှိ၏။ သိရှိရောင်ဝင်း။
ရွှေနန်းတွင်းဝယ်၊ မကင်းတဲးစ၊ မြီးစွဲရံလျက်။ ခဲလှရေကတ်၊ ရာဇဝတ်ကို၊ မမှတ်သားနိုင်။ ကြီးခိုင်မေတ္တာ။
စိတ်ရာဂကြိုက်၊ အလိုလိုက်၍၊ ပုခိုက်စားလွှာ၊ လျှောက်စာကုံးမြှောင်၊ လက်ဆောင်ဆက်သ၊ လှလှကြီးစား။
စကားရောက်ကြောင်း၊ ကွေ့ချောင်းထွေလည်၊ ကြိုက်တည်တည့်၊ လှည့်ပတ်ဆီဆ၊ ပြုသမျှလည်း၊
ပြောပလောက်ဘိ၊ သွယ်သွယ်ရှိသည်။ ။ သတိမထားနိုင်တည့်လေ။ ။ လက်တည့်ကျယ်ရေကိုယ်
လှကွေး။ ။ နားတော်တည့်ရှက်ထွေးမလည်သေး။ ။

၃၀။ ။ တကြိမ်လည်းရှင်၊ ရှင်ဘခင်သည်။ ရွှေစင်ရောင်ဝင်း၊ ရွှေနန်းတွင်းသို့၊ မယွင်းနတ်တူ၊ ဝင်တော်မူ
သော်။ ။ ငါ့ဆန္ဒရှိ၊ ရော့ ဝန်မှန်နန်း၊ စံမြန်းစိုးတင့်၊ တန်းခိုးပွင့်သည်။ ဘိုးရှင်ကိုယ်လုပ်၊ သွယ်ရံလှေကျော်၊ ထင်
ပေါ်မြောက်စား၊ မင်း ၁၂ ပါးသည်။ ။ ထိပ်ဖျားထိပ်ချာ၊ ဘနန်းလျာကို၊ ကွယ်ရာဆီတည့်၊ ချောင်း နောင်းကြည့်
လျက်၊ မလှည့်ဘယ်ည။ ။ တေးကွင်းစာကို၊ နှုတ်မှာပုံလှိုင်း၊ လှေကြက်တိုင်းဖြင့်၊ ရီမြိုင်းမျက်စိ၊ တမ်းယမ်းမိလျက်
မချိုးဝေ၊ ကြာတောင်းနေသော်၊ ပရမေထွတ်ထား၊ ဘိုးမင်းဖျားက၊ လက် ၁ မေတ္တာ၊ စေပါလေ့၊ ကြည့်၍မမြင်။

ခေါ်တော်မူ၏။ မရတုံ့ဘဲ။ ဘင်္ဂန်းရှည်ကြာ။ နောက်မှလာသော။ ထွတ်ချာဘုန်းဂုဏ်။ မင်း၏။ မာန်ဖြင့်။ စွဲမှန်နေကျ။
 ဒုတိယအင်းချနှင့်။ နရထွက်ချက်။ ရိုက်ထည့်နှက်သော်။ သွေးထွက်ရုံစွတ်။ နှုတ်ခမ်းပြတ်၏။ ဆွတ်ဆွတ်ကျင်နာ။
 သည်အမာလည်း။ နှစ်တာရှည်လျာ။ တမ်းခွန်လွှားသို့။ ထင်ရှားစွာဘိ။ ခုပင်ရှိ၏။ မှတ်မှီတခဲ။ နီထျာကိုယ်မွေး။
 သင်္ဘောကျေးကို။ မြတ်လေးသာရှင်။ လက်ညှိုးတင်၍။ ရှုမြင်စကား။ ကစားရာတွင်။ နန်းလျာတည်စ။ ရှုန်းယဉ်လှ
 သည်။ ရှင်ဘဘုရား။ ကြည့်သော။ မျှော်လိုက်ကြည့်သော်။ အပြည့်ကိုယ်လုံး။ ပတ်ကုံးနွံမျှ။ တပ်ရပ်ကြောင့်။ ယု
 ရမြတ်လေး။ လက်တွင်ကျေးကို။ မနွေးရင်ခွင်။ ချထားတင်လျက်။ ထင်သည်သတိ။ ကြိတ်နှိပ်မှီ၍။ နမိနမြော။
 သင်္ဘောကပါ။ ကျေးနီထျာသည်။ ခန္ဓာပျက်ကြွ။ ဆုံးပခလ၏။ ထွေထွေထူးဆန်း။ ဥဒါန်းပြောရာ။ စဉ်လာ
 နောက်နောင်။ ဖြစ်ရစ်အောင်သာ။ နန်းလျာရှင်ဘ။ လှသည်ကျေးဇူး။ ဂုဏ်အထူးကာ။ အကျိုးအံ့ရာ။ များလေစွာ
 သည်။ မျှသာမှတ်နှင့်ပြီးဘည့်လေ။ စက်တော်တည့်မှ။ မွေးပျော်ဘိသေး။ ကြီးဘည့်ငင်နှေးသာ
 လေးလေး။ ။

၃၂။ ၊ မင်းဦးထိပ်နေ။ လူထိပ်မွေ၏။ ကြက်သရေမြင့်ရာ။ ဇေးချင်းစာကို။ မှတ်ရာချေးလစ်။ သက္ကရာဇ်မှာ။
 တထောင်သာ၍။ တရလည်းကျော်။ သုံးညပေါ်လျက်။ ခြောက်ခုတက်၍။ နတ်စက်လေလုံး။ လဝါဆိုဟု။ နဂိုရ်
 ဆန်းစ။ သုံးရက်မျှနိက်။ ရေးထအခေါ်ပြီးခြင်းရာကို။ လက်သံချို။ စီကုံးဆို၍။ ဗဟိုရ်နာရီ။ လှည့်ဆီခေါ်တွက်။
 နှစ်ချက်မြတ်တွင်။ ပြီးအောင်မြင်သည်။ မှတ်ချင်တည့်နောင်ရေးများလှသေး။ ။

ဇေးချင်းပြီးပြီ။ ။

LIFE OF AUTHOR.

ဇရုံမြို့စားဝန်ကြီးမင်းပဒေသရာဇာ အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိစာတမ်း။ ။

ဝန်ကြီးမင်းပဒေသရာဇာ၏ မွေးဘွားသော ခုနှစ်သက္ကရာဇ်ကို အမှန်မသိနိုင်။ သို့ရာတွင် သံလျင်မှာ နာ၍ အ
 သက် ၇၀ ကျော်တွင် လွန်သည်ဟု ၁၁၉၀ ကျော်မှာ ရေးသော မှန်နန်းရာဇဝင်မှာ လာသည်။ ၁၁၄၀ ကျော်မှာ
 ရေးသော လောကဗျဟာခေါ် အင်ရုံစာတမ်းမှာ ၁၁၁၃ ခုနှစ် ရှင်ဘုရင်နှင့် တကွ ဝန်ကြီးပဒေသရာဇာကို
 အဝက ပံသင်ဝတီသို့ တလိုင်းတို့ယူရာ လမ်းခရီးမှာ နာ၍ ဝန်ကြီးပဒေသရာဇာ လွန်သည်ဟု ပါသည်။ သံလျင်
 သည် အဝနှင့် ပံသင်ဝတီစပ်ကြား ဖြစ်၍ စကား ၂ ခုစပ်ဟပ်ယူနိုင်သည်။ ဂေါ်စာသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၃၄ ခုတွင်
 နန်းတက်သော အဝဘုရင် အင်္ဂါမင်းလက်ထက်မှာ ပဒေသရာဇာကို အဝမြို့မှာ ပင်ဘွားသည်။ ။

ဂေါ်စာသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၆၀ ပြည့်တွင် နန်းတက်သော အဝဘုရင် စနေမင်းလက်ထက်တွင် စုရေးစုကိုင်
 အရာသူကောင်းပြီခံရသည်။ ထိုအခါ ကပင်ကဗျာများ ရေးသားသည်။ ။

ဂေါ်စာသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၇၆ ခုနှစ်တွင် နန်းတက်သော အဝဘုရင် တနင်္ဂနွေမင်းလက်ထက်မှာ နန်းကျည်း
 ရုံမြို့စားအရာနှင့် ဝေါဟလာမူအရာလက်ဝဲ ရွှေတောင်ဘွဲ့ခြီးမြှင့်သူကောင်းပြီခံရသည်။ ၎င်းနောက် တနင်္ဂနွေ
 မင်း၏ သားတော် စဉ့်ကူးမြို့စား အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းအချီတော်အရာ တနင်္ဂနွေမင်းက ၁၀၈၉ ခုမှာ ထပ်မံခန့်ထားသူ
 ကောင်း ပြသည်။ ဗစဉ့်ကူးမြို့စား အိမ်ရှေ့မင်း၏ နားတော် သွင်းကိုလည်း ရေးသားဆက်သွင်းရ
 သည်။ ။

ဂေါ်စာသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၉၅ ခုနှစ်တွင် နန်းတက်သော အဝဘုရင် ကြာသပတေးမင်းလက်ထက်။ လက်ဦး
 ဇရုံမြို့စားအရာနှင့် ဘယကျော်သူဘွဲ့ခြီးမြှင့်သူကောင်းပြီသည်ကိုခံရသည်။ ၎င်းနောက် ဇရုံမြို့စား အသည်ဝန်
 အရာအတွင်း ဝန်အရာများနှင့် မင်းရဲမင်းလှကျော်ထင်ဘွဲ့ခြီးမြှင့် သူကောင်း ပြီခံရသည်။ ၎င်းနောက် ဇရုံမြို့စားအ
 ရာအသည်ဝန်အရာ။ လွှတ်တော်ဝန်ကြီးအရာ။ ပဒေသရာဇာဘွဲ့နှင့် ခြီးမြှင့်သူကောင်းပြီသည်ကိုခံရသည်။
 ၎င်းနောက် နတ်ရှင်နောင်ဘွဲ့ကြီးနှင့် ခြီးမြှင့်သည်ကိုလည်းခံရသည်။ နတ်ရှင်နောင်ဆိုသည်ကား ရှင်ဘုရင်၏အစ်

ကိုဆိုလိုသည်။ ထိုဘွဲ့နှင့် ညှိအောင်လည်းမင်းသားကြီးတို့အစိုးအနင်း အဆောင်အရွက်များသနားတော်မြတ်ခံသည်။ မင်းသားကြီးတို့အစိုးအနင်းများ အနက်ထင်ရှားသော အဆောင်အရွက်များတွင် သွားလာသည့်အခါ ဝေါဟာရစီးခွင့်။ ကျိုင်းရွှေချက် ၂ စင်းဆောင်းခွင့်များနှင့် မြီမြိုင်ခံရသည်။ ထိုဝန်ကြီးကတော် ၂ ဦးမှာလည်း အတူအညီဧဝိတပ်သောဘွဲ့ ၂ ရပ်နှင့်ခြီးမြှင့်ခြင်းခံရသည်ပြင် ရှင်ဘုရင်ကစာဆိုကြီးဟူ၍ လည်းခေါ်လေ့ရှိသည်။ ထိုဝန်ကြီးမင်းရေးသောစာများမှာအောက်ပါအတိုင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စာတမ်းအမှတ်အသားများမှာ မင်းရာဇာဟူ၍၊ ၎င်းပဒေသရာဇာဟူ၍၊ ၎င်းနုရှင်နောင်ဟူ၍၊ ၎င်းအမျိုးမျိုးအစားစားရေးသားလေ့ရှိသည်။ သရက် ၆ ဆက်ကမ်းရာဇာနှင့်ရှုတ်ထွေးတတ်သည်။ ဘောင်ငူမင်းနတ် ရှင်နောင်နှင့်လည်းရှုတ်ထွေးတတ်သည်။ ဤအတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိစာတမ်းလည်းဦးတင် (၂) ထံမှရသတည်း။

ရေးသောစာများကား။ ။ ၁။ တေးထွက်ခန်းပျို့။ ။ ၂။ ဆန္ဒပျို့။ ။ ၃။ ကျေးဇူးတော်ပျို့။ ။ ၄။ ယိုတယားသံရောက်ပျို့။ ။ ၅။ မဏိခက်ပျို့။ ။ ၆။ ကုမ္ဘာဘယပျို့။ ။ ၇။ သမုဒ္ဒစောသပျို့။ ။ ၈။ သူဇာပျို့။ ။ ၉။ မနော်ပျို့သစ်။ ။ ၁၀။ ရတုစုံရေးအများ။ ။ ၁၁။ မင်းခန်းလင်္ကာ။ ။ ၁၂။ ထိပ်ဦးနေဇချင်း။ ။ ၁၃။ ထိပ်ဦးတင်ဇချင်း။ ။ ၁၄။ ထိပ်ပန်းဇချင်း။ ။ ၁၅။ စကမင်းဇချင်း။ ။ ၁၆။ စလင်းမင်းဇချင်း။ ။ ၁၇။ ဥကမင်းနတ်သံ။ ။ ၁၈။ ယသော်ဓရာတမ်းခြင်း။ ။ ၁၉။ ဆေနပြန်တမ်းခြင်း။ ။ ၂၀။ မဏိခက်ဇာတ်။ ။ ၂၁။ ဆယ်အိမ်ခေါင်းဘွဲ့ထန်းသမားဘွဲ့စသောသီချင်းအများ။ ။ ၂၂။ ဂိုဏ်းရွေးနည်းစသောမှတ်စုလင်္ကာအများ။ ။

ဇရုံမြို့စားဝန်ကြီးမင်းပဒေသရာဇာ အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိစာတမ်း

ပြီးပြီ။

U BA THEIN. DIED 17th. MARCH 1923.

Another loss to Burmese scholarship has to be recorded. U Ba Thein, 2nd. Grade advocate of Kyaukse, died on 17th. March last at the early age of 57.

He was keenly interested in all branches of Burmese literature and also in the antiquities of the district where he had made his home. Besides various contributions to the press he some years ago published the *Ko Khayaing Thamaing*, a valuable collection of Sittans and other documents relating to Kyaukse District, more especially to the canals, with a historical introduction and notes. He had in contemplation a second edition to include additional matter.

He had also, after 10 years work, compiled a dictionary of archaic Burmese the manuscript of which has been found among his papers and which appears to be much more complete and better furnished with illustrations than any similar dictionary hitherto published. It is to be hoped that some press will be enterprising enough to purchase and print the manuscript.

In two obituary notices which have appeared in Burmese newspapers, while justice is done to U Ba Thein's literary accomplishments, the *Ko Khayaing Thamaing* is not mentioned. This omission may be the excuse for some description of its contents. It includes extracts from the *Hmannan* and other chronicles relating to Kyaukse, the Sittans of Mekkaya and Myittha towns, accounts of the construction of the various weirs and canals by Anorata and later kings, the duties of the villagers in connection with canal maintenance and repair, and reports of officials showing the rates at which revenue was levied, and giving valuable information regarding the titles on which land was held. We learn the names of the guards regiments whose members held allotments of land in the *Khayaing* and there is valuable material in the book for a history of the Burman army. Much information also can be collected as to the canal administration and the relations of the civil, irrigation and military officials. There is evidence, too, of the extraordinary mixture of races in the Kyaukse district due to the efforts of the kings to maintain the population and the outturn of paddy by successive settlements of prisoners of war—Shans, Siamese, Talaings, Arakanese and Indians.

U Ba Thein himself was a native of Thonze, but had been domiciled in Kyaukse for 30 years. He had a real love not only for the history of the district but for all its villages and rivers and canals. His house was on the bank of the Zawgyi river within hearing of the Zidaw weir. He had seen its reconstruction, and when the canal itself is remodelled and water again reaches Mekkaya as in the time of Minkyizwasawké it would be fitting to commemorate him by giving his name to one of the new distributaries. He himself would have wished to be remembered in the *Ko Khayaing*, and the association of his name with the canals is just the sort of memorial he would have liked.

J. A. S.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of the First Meeting of the Sub-committee of the Burma Research Society held on 16th March 1923.

P R E S E N T.

J. S. Furnivall, Esq., I.C.S.	
Dr. Hunter	U Tun Pe
G. H. Luce, Esq.	W. G. Fraser, Esq.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the third meeting of the sub-committee held on 28th September 1922.

2. Elected as ordinary members : —

- (1) Saya Pe
- (2) Captain G. M. Medd.
- (3) E. T. D. Gaudoin, Esq.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the 1st meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College, Rangoon, on Friday 16th March 1923.

P R E S E N T.

J. S. Furnivall, Esq., I.C.S.	
Dr. Hunter, C.I.E.,	G. H. Luce, Esq.
U Tun Pe	W. G. Fraser, Esq.

1. The minutes of the 5th meeting of the Executive Committee held on 22nd January 1923 were confirmed.

2. Elected to the sub-committee :—Dr. Hunter, L. F. Taylor, Esq. and U Tun Pe.

3. Resolved to insert a notice in every issue of the Journal describing the activities of the Society and inviting applications for membership.

4. Resolved to arrange for the sale of the Owādāhtū Pyo at the two colleges and also by the Pyigyī Mundyne Press.

5. Resolved that the next Ordinary Meeting of the Society should be held in July.

6. Resolved to ascertain the cost of a set of T'oung Pao (2nd Series) and the cost of subscribing to that journal.

Resolved to invite exchange of publications with the following:—

(a) *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.*

(b) *Tijdschrift of the Bataviaasch Genootschap.*

7. Resolved to allocate a sum of Rs. 500 for expenditure on the library from the date of the meeting to the end of 1923, in addition to the balance of Rs. 150 still unspent out of the sum of Rs. 500 sanctioned in 1922.

8. The Honorary Secretary reported that the entries in the competitions which closed on February 28th had been sent to the judges.

W. G. FRASER.

Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the 2nd Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College, Rangoon, on Tuesday 5th June 1923.

P R E S E N T :

J. S. Furnivall, Esq., I.C.S.,—	(Chairman).
M. Hunter, Esq., D. Sc.,	Saya Thein.
I.E.S., C.I.E.	
S. G. Grantham, Esq.,	U Tun Pe.
I.C.S.	
J. J. Nolan, Esq.	W. G. Fraser, Esq., I.E.S.

1. The Minutes of the 1st. Meeting of the Executive Committee held on 16th March 1923 were confirmed.

2. Resolved that the resignation of Mr. A. P. Morris of his seat on the Executive Committee be accepted and that he be appointed to the General Committee.

3. Resolved that the President should invite the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rutledge to become a member of the Executive Committee.

4. Resolved (a) to defer consideration of the proposal to purchase a set of T'oung Pao (2nd. series) and (b) to subscribe to T'oung Pao for one year.

5. Resolved that Messrs. Rodger, Maung Tin and Ba Han be invited to attend the Centenary Celebration of the Royal Asiatic Society as representatives of the Burma Research Society.

6. Resolved to request the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to consider the admission of the Burma Research Society to be an Associate Society.

7. Considered the awards of the judges in the competition recently held.

Resolved that they be published with a report by the President.

8. Resolved that an ordinary meeting of the Society be held on 20th July and that a paper should be read.

9. Resolved with reference to correspondence resting with D. O. No. 297—2E-108 dated 29th May 1923 from the Excise Commissioner, that the Excise Commissioner be informed that the Society regrets it cannot offer assistance in the way he desires, but suggests that he should consult Mr. G. E. Harvey with reference to the historical information he requires.

10. Resolved that P. O. Cash Certificates to the value of Rs 5,000 be purchased.

11. Sanctioned the entertainment of a peon for the Society on Rs. 17 per month.

12. Resolved that Mr. W. G. Fraser's resignation of his offices as Honorary Secretary and Treasurer be accepted and that Mr. G. H. Luce be appointed in his place.

13. Resolved that the President should address the Local Government with reference to Maung Tin's request for an extension of his period of deputation in England, pointing out that the study of Mss. which he contemplates if his leave is extended ought to yield results valuable for oriental studies in Burma.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

*Minutes of the 3rd meeting of the Executive Committee held at
University College on 24th August 1923.*

P R E S E N T :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung (in the Chair).

A. Cassim, Esq.	U Tun Pe.
G. H. Luce, Esq.	L. F. Taylor, Esq.
W. G. Fraser, Esq., Hony. Secretary.	

1. Resolved that Honorary Treasurer be authorised to realise cash certificates purchased for Rs. 1,937-8 and to pay Clarendon Press bill for printing the "Glass Palace Chronicle."

2. Resolved that the Executive Committee considers it is not necessary to amend the rules as suggested by Mr. Furnivall by adding a rule that the President shall not hold office as such for two consecutive years.

3. Resolved that the resignation by U Tha Tun Aung of his membership of the Executive Committee be accepted and that he be appointed a member of the General Committee.

4. Resolved that a set of the Journal be presented to the London Library and that the library be put on the free list. The Honorary Secretary was instructed to ask for a copy of the subject index of the London Library in exchange.

5. Resolved that letter of 8th July from Mr. A. Rodger, stating that he hoped to accept the Society's invitation to attend the Centenary Celebrations of the Royal Asiatic Society, be recorded.

6. Resolved that 10 copies of Owadahtu Pyo be presented to U Po Sein who prepared the text for publication.

7. Resolved that sanction be given to expenditure by Honorary Editor not exceeding Rs 200 in connection with the preparation of Chinese numbers of the Journal. (The sum of Rs. 200 includes Rs. 100 already sanctioned by the Sub-Committee).

8. Resolved that U May Oung be appointed President of the Society for the remaining part of 1923 in place of Mr. Furnivall resigned.

9. Resolved that Maung Aung Than, Office of the Director of Publicity, be appointed a member of the Executive Committee.

10. Resolved that Mr. A. Cassim be appointed Joint-Secretary of the Text Publication Sub-Committee in place of Mr. G. H. Luce resigned.

11. On the motion of U Tun Pe, seconded by U May Oung, Mr. James Tapa was elected an ordinary member of the Society.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

ORDINARY MEETING.

An Ordinary Meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at University College on 24th August, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung in the Chair. The following members were present :—

Messrs. L. F. Taylor, N. C. Krishna Iyer, F. J. Meggitt, G. H. Luce, G. E. Scott, A. Cassim, Maung Aung Than, Saya Pe, U Tun Pe, Saya Pwa, W. G. Fraser.

Mr. G. H. Luce read the following papers :

- (a) "Story of the Migrations" by Major Enriquez.
- (b) "Note on some authorities for the History of Burma", by Mr. J. A. Stewart I.C.S.

which are printed elsewhere in the journal. After the reading of Major Enriquez's paper, L. F. Taylor commented on the paper and a discussion followed in which Mr. Luce and U May Oung took part. When Mr. Stewart's paper had been read, the Chairman briefly discussed the sources of information regarding Burmese history and spoke with high appreciation of Mr. Stewart's contribution to the subject. A hearty vote of thanks was then awarded to the authors of the two papers which had been read.

BY CIRCULAR.

The Executive Committee approved (in circulation) resolution 2 of the minutes of the 9th meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee and resolutions, 2 3, and 4 of the 10th meeting, and empowered the Text Publication Sub-Committee to proceed with the programme laid down in resolution 2 of the 9th meeting (see minutes pages 120 and 172 of Journal Volume XII).

The Sub Committee approved (in circulation) of expenditure not exceeding Rs. 100 for work done by a Chinaman in connection with the forthcoming "Chinese number" of the Journal.

The Sub-Committee has elected the following members :—

Rev. O. Hanson, Saya Pwa, Mr. E. T. D. Gaudoin, Capt. G. M. Medd, Saya Pe, Prof. F. J. Meggitt, Dr. H. B. Osborn, Mr W. A. Hertz. Mr. C. M. Surty, Saya Zan, Maung Thin, Mr. M. K. Roy, Mr. H. M. Bazett, Mr. James Tapa, Dr. Aung Tun.

W. G. FRASER,

Honorary Secretary.

List of Recent Additions to the Library.

BY PRESENTATION.

- Gramophone Records of Languages and Dialects spoken in the Bombay Presidency—Translations and Transcriptions, 4 copies.
A Môn-English Dictionary, by R. Halliday, 1922, 2 copies.
Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, by W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden. 2 vols. (Presented by Mr. L. F. Taylor).
The Path of Purity, being a translation of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, by Prof. Pe Maung Tin. (Presented by the author).
Map of Buddhist India, by Maung San Shwe. (Presented by the author).
Epigraphia Birmanica, being Lithic and other Inscriptions of Burma, Vol. III, Part, I, 1923.
Burma Census Report, 1921, 3 vols.
Third Annual Report on the working of the Rangoon Development Trust for the year 1922-23.

Siamese books presented by the National Library, Bangkok.

- Pāli Gāthā in Praise of the Holy Discipline, by H. R. H. King Rāma IV, translated into Siamese by Patriarch Pussadeva.
A Manual of Meditation, by His Holiness Prince Vajirañña Vararasa.
Laotian Songs.
A Poem on the Tonsure Ceremony, by H. M. King Rāma V (Chulalongkorn).
Poetical Relation of a tour to Bang Yi Khan, by Khun Phum.
Record of the repairs made to the chapel of the Emerald Buddha during the reign of H. M. King Rāma III (Phra Nang Klao).
Phra Rathasena: a poem.
A Collection of Acrostic Verses.
Salāyatanavibhaṅgasutta: a sermon by the late Patriarch Pussadeva.
A Collection of Children's Songs composed for the Orphan-Asylum of H. M. Queen Sai Savalibhirom.
The Tiger and the Cow: a poem composed by Phra Mahā Rājaguru during the reign of Phra Narai.
A Collection of Songs for the Mahori Orchestra (from the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa and Inao).
A Collection of Chronicles, vols. XXII—XXV.
A Collection of Royal Questions, Parts I, III, IV.
A Sermon on the Consecration of Boundary Stones, by Somdet Phra Vanaratana of Wat Sudat.
A Treatise on Kite-Flying.
Dharmavidhinamaskāra, by H. M. King Rāma IV (King Mongkut); and Mettasutta and Byākatābyākatavatthu, by Pussadeva.
Letters of H. M. King Rāma IV (King Mongkut) 2nd. series.
Manners and Customs, Part XIII—Buddhism in Burma,

- Poems by H. E. the late Chaophya Bhaskaravongse.
 A Poem on the Victory of King Paramatrailokanātha of Ayudhyā over the Laotians of Chieng Mai in the XVth. Century.
 A Poem in praise of Their Majesties Kings Rāma III and IV, by Khun Phum.
 Mahādharmmasamādanasutta : a sermon by the late Patriarch Pussadeva.
 The Story of the Ploughing Festival, by H. M. King Rāma V (Chulalongkorn).
 Poetical relation of Thao Subhattikārabhakti's Journey to Kanchanapuri, by H. M. King Rāma V (Chulalongkorn).
 An ancient Treatise on Horses.
 Saranagamanūpakathā : a sermon by Patriarch Pussadeva.
 Atthakkhanakhatā : a sermon by Patriarch Pussadeva.
 The Festivals of the Twelve Months in Ancient Times.
 A Collection of Lullabies.
 Cāmadevivamsa or Chronicle of Haripuñjaya (Pali Text with Siamese Translation).
 A Collection of Poetries, Parts I and V.
 The History of Phra Pathamacetiya by Chao Phya Dibakarawongs.
 Eulogic Stanzas inscribed on Panels at Bang-Pa-In on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of King Chulalongkorn's Coronation.
 Treatise on Fever by Phya Chandapuri (Klom).
 A Poetical Record of the Battle with the Burmese at Tha Din Dong by King Rāma I.
 A History of Wat Pavaranivesavihara by His Holiness the late Prince Vajirañña Vararasa.
 A Treatise on Elephant Riding.
 A Commentary on Various Prayers.

Presented by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

- On the Extinction of the Mammoth, by H. Neuville.
 Glass and some of its Problems, by Sir Herbert Jackson.
 Two Types of Southwestern Cliff Houses, by J. W. Fewkes.
 On the Race History and Facial Characteristics of the Aboriginal Americans, by W. H. Holmes.
 A Constitutional League of Peace in the Stone Age of America. The League of the Iroquois and its Constitution, by J. N. B. Hewitt.
 History in Tools, by W. M. Flinders Petrie.
 The Background of Totemism, by E. W. Hopkins.
 Sun Worship of the Hopi Indians, by J. W. Fewkes.
 The Direct Action of Environment and Evolution, by Prince Kropotkin.
 The Fundamental Factor of Insect Evolution, by S. S. Chetverikov.
 Sexual Selection and Bird Song, by C. J. Hawkins.
 The Taxonomy of the Muscoidean Flies, including descriptions of new Genera and Species, by C. H. T. Townsend.
 The Bryozoa, or Moss Animals, by R. S. Bässler.
 The Exploration of Manchuria, by Capt. A. de C. Sowerby.

- The Origin and Beginnings of the Czechoslovak People, by Jindrich Matiegka.
- Geographic Education in America, by A. L. Brigham.
- Progress in National Land Reclamation in the United States, by C. A. Bissell.
- The Differentiation of Mankind into Racial Types.
- The Races of Russia, by Ales Hrdligka.
- An Economic Consideration of Orthoptera directly affecting Man, by A. N. Caudell.
- Natural History of Paradise Key and the Near-by Everglades of Florida, by W. E. Safford.
- The Present State of the Problem of Evolution, by M. Caullery.
- The Economic Importance of the Diatoms, by Albert Mann.
- New Archaeological Lights on the Origin of Civilization in Europe, by Sir Arthur Evans.
- Mine Safety Devices developed by the United States Bureau of Mines, by Van H. Manning.
- The Ralph Cross Johnson Collection in the National Gallery at Washington.
- Local Suppression of Agricultural Pests by Birds, by W. L. McAtee.
- Parasitism and Symbiosis in their relation to the Problem of Evolution.
- Daturas of the Old World and New, by W. E. Safford.
- The Origin of Insect Societies, by A. Lameere.
- Notes on the Dances, Music, and Songs of the Ancient and Modern Musicians, by A. Genir.
- Fire Worship of the Hopi Indians, by J. W. Fewkes.
- Opinions rendered by the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature (Opinions 52, 57 to 65, 66, 67, 68 to 77).
- Instances of Hermaphroditism in Crayfishes, by W. P. Hay.
- Description of a New Squirrel of *Sciurus Prevostii* Group from Pulo Temaju, West Coast of Borneo, by M. W. Lyon.
- New Genera of South American Fresh-water Fishes, and New Names for some Old Genera, by Carl H. Eigenmann.
- Notes on a Collection of Mammals from the Province of Kan-su, China, by M. W. Lyon.
- The Squirrels of the *Sciurus Vittatus* Group in Sumatra, by M. W. Lyon.
- Landmarks of Botanical History, by Ed. Lee Greene.
- Upper Yukon Native Customs and Folk-lore, by F. Schmitter.
- The Flying Apparatus of the Blow-Fly, by Dr. Wolfgang Ritter.
- Notes on American Species of *Peripatus*, with a list of known forms, by A. H. Clark.
- Two New Mammals from the Siberian Altai, by N. Hollister.
- A New Genus of Mallophaga from African Guinea Fowl in the United States National Museum, by J. H. Paine.
- Fifty-one New Malayan Mammals, by G. S. Miller.

- The Present Distribution of the Onychophora, a Group of Terrestrial Invertebrates, by Austin H. Clark.
- Archaeological Investigations in New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah, by J. W. Fewkes.
- A Review of the Interrelationships of the Cetacea, by H. Winge.
- The Echinoderms as Aberrant Arthropods, by A. H. Clark.
- Opinions rendered by the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature.
- Harriman Alaska Expedition, Vols. I, XI, XIV (2 Parts).
- The Young of the Crayfishes, *Astacus* and *Cambarus*, by E. A. Andrews.
- The Apodous Holothurians; a monograph of the Synaptidæ and Molpadidæ, by H. L. Clark.
- Oceanic Ichthyology, a treatise on the Deep-Sea and Pelagic Fishes of the World, by G. B. Goode and T. H. Bean, and one Vol. of Plates.
- A Phylogenetic study of the Recent Crinoids, with Special Reference to the Question of Specialization through the partial or complete Suppression of Structural Characters, by A. H. Clark.

BY EXCHANGE.

- Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. II, Part IV, 1923.
- Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LII, 1922 (July to December).
- Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué, Nos. 1 to 4 of 1922.
- Bulletin Musique Annamite, par E. Le Bris.
- Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I (April 1923).
- Conservation Manual—A Handbook for the use of Archaeological Officers and others entrusted with the care of ancient monuments, by Sir John Marshall (1923).
- Journal of the East India Association, Vol. XIV Nos. 2 and 3 (April and July 1923).
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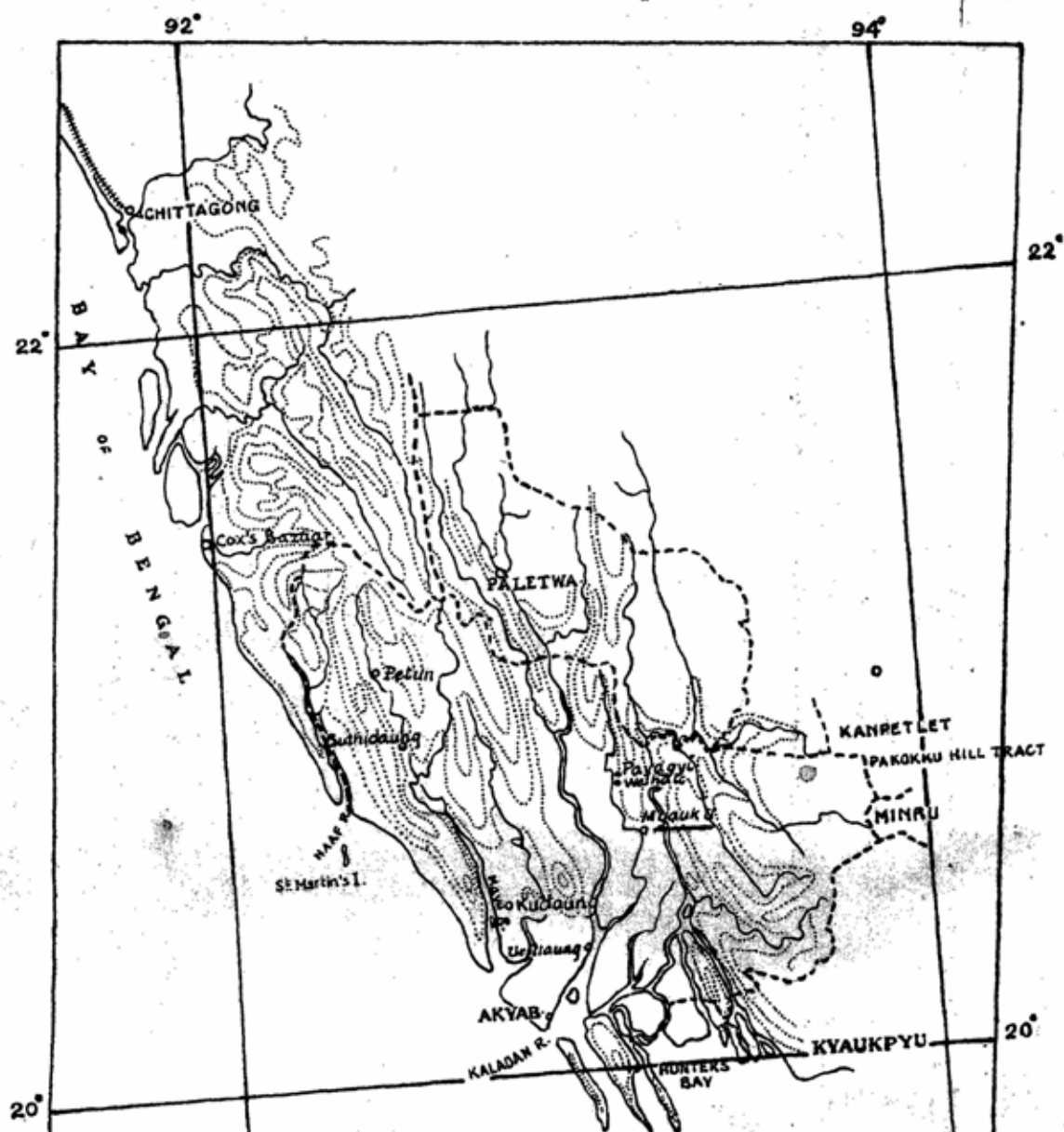
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boundary marked with red line.

FRA MANRIQUE. A GLIMPSE OF ARAKAN IN 1630 A.D.

BY M. S. COLLIS.

Fra Manrique's narrative of his journey to the Court of Arakan in 1630 is little known, though it is one of the most vivid accounts we possess of old Burma from the pen of a European. Phayre in his history mentions Manrique but does not appear to have come on his text; nor has he been utilized by any other historian. A translation of his work was published in 1916 in "Bengal; Past and Present," a copy of which is before me, but no one possessed of a knowledge of Arakanese place-names and topography has ever presented his narrative to the general public. The work contains certain topographical difficulties, which with the help of local information I have been able to elucidate. But though a correct statement of Manrique's journey has historical importance as fixing the exact localities of which he relates matters of interest, it is to the narrative itself that I desire to draw attention, a narrative which provides a most detailed and exact picture of the social condition of Arakan in the first half of the seventeenth century and which by the primary nature of its evidence gives authoritatively the lie to those subsequent chroniclers like Manucci, who described the Arakanese of that date as barbarians and filled their pages with ridiculous libels at second hand. Manrique was not interested in marvels nor does he relate any; he was a plain man, concerned, after his religion, with ordinary things like the price of eggs, the quality of goods and the state of the weather. He had an extraordinary eye for detail; he described what he saw in the style employed by Swift and Defoe to give verisimilitude to what they imagined. As a result, we believe what he says. I trust that the development of his narrative in these pages will help to provide a more faithful picture of life in old Burma than has hitherto been available, and will give pause to those who would describe the old kings as cut-throats, their government as melodrama and their kingdom as a shambles.

"So the next day, after the parochial Mass, I addressed the people, bade them farewell and asked for their prayers, reminding them that it was in the service of God and for the preservation of Christianity in that Kingdom that we were about to brave the torrents and storms of the worst part of winter and place our lives at the mercy of the King of Arakan." With these words Manrique launches on his narrative. He was the priest in spiritual charge of the Portuguese settlement of Dianga, a town twenty miles south of Chittagong. The events which led to him bidding so solemn a farewell to his congregation and setting out at the beginning of the rains for Arakan must now be summarized.

Chittagong had long been an appanage of the Arakanese crown, organized as a frontier province against the power of the Great Mogul. The Portuguese had received Dianga as a trade centre on condition they

assisted the governor of Chittagong to defend his north-western marches. But in this year 1630, a new Governor was appointed. This Arakanese nobleman had private reasons of his own for disliking the Portuguese, for he had once fallen into their hands. He accordingly forged an incriminating correspondence, purporting to have passed between the Portuguese of Dianga and the Mogul's satrap of Bengal and inviting the latter to invade Arakan. This he sent to his master, King Thiri-thudhamma, who was deceived by the forgery. In point of fact there was every excuse, for the allegation, though false, was not improbable. The Portuguese had never scrupled in the past to break faith. In consequence the King of Arakan directed his fleet to assemble and, as soon as the weather moderated, to sail up and destroy Dianga, before the Mogul could move.

This muster of ships caused much speculation at the Arakanese Court, and certain Catholics there resident, becoming anxious, made inquiries through the Court ladies and learnt the King's real object. When they knew it was the destruction of their co-religionists, an express messenger was sent with letters to apprise the Portuguese at Dianga. "He came flying through the air, without minding the difficulties of the route," writes Manrique. The distance was 270 miles through the tiger-infested jungles of the borderland, over mountain chains and rivers swollen by the first downpours of the monsoon, and he accomplished it in twelve days, an average of twenty-two miles a day. How great was this feat, the subsequent narrative will show. On arrival at Dianga on June 30th, the messenger placed his letters forthwith in the hands of Fra Manrique.

The priest immediately perceived that an urgent crisis had arisen, for the Portuguese fleet was away on a filibustering expedition against the Mogul and was not expected back for months. The settlement was therefore defenceless. Only one military officer of standing was at hand, namely Dom Gonsales Tibao, and he was in bed with fever. Manrique, however, sent him the news, and the Captain, getting out of bed, was carried to the priest's residence. Then followed a hurried Council in which the advice of certain old men well conversant with the country was sought and it was decided that there was but one way to avert the danger. To try and recall the fleet was impossible in the time. Only in a dangerous and desperate remedy lay safety. Manrique himself, accompanied by Dom Gonsales and a few followers, should set out immediately, even the very next day, to the Court of King Thiri-thudhamma of Arakan; he should place himself spontaneously in the power of that monarch, explain that he was the head of the Catholic Church at Dianga and confound the King's suspicions by pointing out that the Portuguese would not have sent their Padre to him, if they contemplated treachery.

The risks and hardships of this journey during the monsoon must have been apparent to the priest, but he immediately adopted the suggestion. Next day, in the words already quoted, he bade the people

farewell at Mass. One must not modernize his ideas. He was one of that race which had tortured and robbed the world over in the name of the Catholic faith, and it was to preserve at Dianga that religion, rather than the mere lives of his countrymen, that he set out on the journey. An unquestioning devotion to his Church was the motive power of his courage. That night, the 2nd of July 1630, the party slipped secretly away. "We embarked in the greatest silence, lest the news of our departure should reach the Governor."

The first stage of the journey was to Ramu, near the present Cox's Bazaar. This they accomplished in three days in an oared boat, rowing down the inland creeks in calm water, but within sound of the outer sea, now lashed by the monsoon against the rocky coast. It rained heavily on the night of their arrival and not until the next morning were they able to go ashore and call on the local governor. He became very affable after "a fine present of pieces of India" and they were encouraged to try and obtain some information from him of the movements of the Arakanese fleet. But he changed the subject abruptly when they became too inquisitive and asked them how they proposed getting to the capital.

That was a problem. The inland creeks, which are such a feature of the coast of Arakan, running, as they do, often parallel with the sea and providing a safe passage for small craft up and down the Bay in the wildest weather—these creeks are not found immediately south of Cox's Bazaar.

Manrique consequently replied that they proposed to walk along the shore. The governor pointed out, however, that they would be unable to ford the numerous torrents, which poured down every few miles into the sea. There was nothing for it, he explained, but to cross the mountains and make for the head waters of the Mayu river, where they could take boat again and on a further system of inland waterways row down to the capital.

This news was a shock to the Portuguese, for the mountains were notorious for man-eating tigers and rhinoceros. But the Governor reassured them. He was sending, he said, a convoy of Mogul prisoners into Arakan. They could go with these fellows and the guards; a couple of elephants with good howdahs would ensure their comfort.

So it was arranged, and on July 6th they started with the prisoners and elephants on the second stage of their journey.

For the first six miles, taking advantage of a creek which led to the foot of the mountains, they were able to use a boat and sent the elephants along the bank. On reaching the point where one took the road, they waited an hour in the pouring rain before the elephants came up. As soon as the animals arrived, one was loaded with their valuables (for they had had to bring a number of presents and could not travel light), and the other, with its howdah well provided with carpets and cushions and

protected from the rain by a good roof and windows, was reserved for the priest and Dom Gonsales Tibao.

While they were so engaged, a large tiger sprang out of the bushes and seized one of the Arakanese guards making off with him, "as with a dog." When the party recovered their wits, the wild beast was already entering the jungle. Everyone pursued, shouting, letting off guns, till the tiger dropped the man and fled. But the unfortunate fellow was terribly mauled. Seeing that he was dying the Arakanese wanted to bring him back to the boat, but the Portuguese said he might expire on the way and that it would be safer to cure him first. The former not unnaturally took this to refer to a cure of the body and were delighted, for all Portuguese had the reputation of being great physicians. But it was a cure of the soul that was meant and, in fact, Manrique was seen hurrying up with his crucifix.

The man lay in the rain with a gaping wound in his back, bleeding to death. Kneeling beside him, the priest in a few words explained the Catholic dogmas. The dying man, with that politeness and yielding to an assertive character, which is still a characteristic of the Arakanese, replied he was sure the Christian religion was the true one. "Pleased with such a sweet reply," Manrique took the crucifix from his neck and placed it in the man's hands, recounting the story of the crucifixion. This seemed to move him, for he started weeping and asked to be baptised. The ceremony was carefully carried through and was followed by the office for the dying, during which he expired. His body was buried beyond reach of the beasts. So with a cross at his head they left him in peace, says Manrique, deeming that the rescue of a soul from the clutches of the devil was a good beginning and happy augury for the success of their undertaking. Quite undismayed by what an ordinary man would have regarded as a shocking mishap, the priest mounted his elephant and giving the word to march, set his face joyfully towards the mountains and the gloomy forest.

With the prisoners, the guards and their own eleven followers they made a party of eighty three. It was now afternoon and the way was over foothills and through swamps, uncultivated land where the undergrowth pressed on them, suggesting a tiger at every turn. The rain continued without pause and the company became more and more bedraggled. At last at four o'clock, coming to the edge of a rice plain over six miles broad, where the fields were in that condition of mud and water which is their usual state in July, they decided to halt for the night under a big tree. But it was raining too heavily to cook rice and Manrique had to hand round his own biscuits. They provided but a light meal for eighty three persons, for at that date, as now, the Arakanese did not feel satisfied unless they had eaten fully of rice. Grass was cut for the elephants; the howdah was placed on the ground and with improvised awnings made a sort of tent, into which crept not only Manrique and Dom Gonsales, but all their Portuguese servants. The

wretched Mogul prisoners and the guards had to bivouac under the tree. However the Portuguese had not for long the best of it, for with the moon a violent storm came up and the awnings of the howdah could not protect them from the lashing rain. They awoke soaked in the morning. The rain stopped, but the wind increased to a hurricane and carried away the roof of the howdah, breaking it to splinters. Yet they had to get on. So saddling up and now without a roof over their heads, they ploughed across the paddy fields and began climbing another rise of foot hills beyond. Here the wind ceased, but the rain immediately fell in torrents. On reaching a summit, they were hopelessly drenched, and essayed a change of clothes in a momentary break. "However, God our Lord deigned in his mercy to ordain that the rain should not continue." They were able to light fires, to dry themselves and managed to get a hot meal. But there was nothing but water to drink, notes Manrique.

It was a fine night; without the howdah however, the Portuguese were afraid to sleep on the ground after their late adventure with the tiger, and climbed trees. A tree is not a comfortable place to spend the night, and it is unusually trying in tropical forests, where each branch has a colony of ants. "But, says Manrique, comfortable we deemed it owing to the absence of rain."

Next morning, July 8th, still in fine weather they descended the hill and found some bamboo huts at the bottom. These had been built by former travellers along the same route and were empty. Such huts are to be met with still in the mountains of Arakan, little bamboo structures, thatched with the *dhani* leaf, and can be built by five men in a couple of hours. In three hundred and twenty years the style in rest houses has not changed.

When the travellers reached the huts, a violent thunderstorm gathered and they took shelter, though it was only eleven o'clock in the morning. The downpour continued all that day and night. They did not attempt to leave the huts. Quite dry and comfortable, they waited till the rain should stop. During the leisure of the evening Manrique tried to convert the Mogul prisoners. He explained to them that their creed led to eternal perdition. After listening for some time to this and to arguments that there could be no salvation for them, they replied together, "God is good. God is merciful". "Saying this, they rose and left me" adds Manrique.

Next morning the party resumed their journey. They were now only two or at most three days march from Pe-lun (Peroem) on the Mayu river, where there was a Governor and from where they could take boat to the capital. But they had reached the wildest and most mountainous part of the borderland, a night-mare country at that time of year when three hundred inches of rain fall in five months, and the difficulties they were about to encounter delayed them seven days on the way.

The track that morning lay up a steep and rough mountain and when they were some way on, the rain again came driving over them. At the sixth mile they found the road blocked by a herd of what Manrique calls wild buffaloes. It is more probable that these were bison. They fired their guns in the air, taking particular care not to aim at the animals, in case they should be charged by a wounded bull. Their precautions were rewarded, for the beasts moved away. But the jungle seems to have been full of game. "As we progressed, we heard the frightful roars and growls of tigers, buffaloes, elephants and other ferocious quadrupeds" says Manrique. It has not changed much since then. The Arakan mountains are still in many places infested with man-eaters and very rich in elephants, bison and rhinoceros.

Wet to the skin and shivering with cold they reached the top of the mountain late in the afternoon, but a gale was sweeping the exposed summit and they continued over the crest and down into the valley, hoping to find there more bamboo huts. But at the bottom was nothing but a few forest trees and a rapid swollen river. Across its waters they saw in the dark twilight another craggy mountain, gloomily auguring a further rough climb for the next day. This river was probably the headwaters of the Naaf. Beside it they spent a miserable night, drenched, chilled and clinging to the branches of trees.

The next morning it was still raining nor did it show any sign of clearing. The river continued to swirl past in unabated flood. It was too deep to ford, too violent to swim. Quickly, therefore, they put together a bamboo raft and tried to pole it across, hoping to tie a rope to a tree on the other bank and so have a safe ferry for their baggage. But the stream was too swift. After several attempts and after working for hours, they had to abandon the attempt. So the party was stranded on the bank in the wet. The downpour continued for four days without stopping. All were reduced to the utmost wretchedness. The rain had destroyed the European provisions, and had it not been for the Arakanese who had a reserve of cooked rice with them (a precaution taken by all travellers in the wet zones of Burma to this day), the Portuguese would have starved. Besides cold, wet and hunger, there was the imminent danger of tigers. Manrique called the Portuguese to prayer, "begging God by his passion not to allow us to be buried in the bellies of wild animals." He also turned to the Arakanese Buddhists and the Mahomedans, telling them it was important that they should not lose their souls with their bodies. But, he adds sorrowfully, "though all began to weep at this advice, not one was converted, owing to my great sins, I presume."

On the third day they were all in such straits that Manrique was forced to take two bottles from the wine case that belonged to the Mass. This was the extreme of their wretchedness. The next evening, the fourth of their residence on that river-bank, the rain ceased. They lit a fire, warmed themselves and in the morning found that the water had fallen

sufficiently to allow of their crossing by means of the rope and the raft. The elephants swam. These beasts had had the best of it, for they did not mind rain and there was plenty of grass.

It was now a fortnight since they had left Dianga. They were tired, without food, except for a little cold rice, and rarely dry. They were in constant jeopardy of tigers. But Manrique never lost heart; he never lost his assertive intolerance; he never let slip an opportunity of impressing on the Indians and Arakanese that they were heading straight for hell; and he seems to have been able to preserve from the wet, in the boxes on the second elephant, both his gunpowder and the numerous and valuable presents upon which he depended to make his way at the Court of Arakan.

Once over the river, the party set themselves to climb the rugged mountain, the highest they had as yet encountered. So steep it was that Manrique had to dismount from his elephant and scramble up, hand over hand. But the elephants were in good spirits. "They climbed with greater agility and ease than any of us, lowering and contracting themselves as if they had been goats."

That night they camped a short distance over the summit, dining off the last of the cooked rice and tying themselves as before on to trees. It did not rain and they were dozing on the branches, when the two elephants began trumpeting, tearing at their chains and trampling. Everyone woke up. Wild elephants were moving past in the darkness. The two tame elephants, attracted by the scent of the females, were straining to get loose. There was imminent danger of a stampede. Only by firing their guns was the herd driven off.

Next morning, July 16th, they were up early, for they hoped to have supper that night at Pelun. Descending the precipitous mountain-side, they crossed a broad valley and began the ascent of an even steeper ridge, along the top of which their path lay. From the summit they looked into a gorge, at the bottom of which ran a deep and muddy river. Manrique states that it had been the intention of some former King of Arakan to cut a channel for this particular river through the mountains and open up an inland water-way between Arakan and Chittagong. The narrative of his own journey illustrates how vast a convenience to travellers such a water-communication would have been. But for strategic reasons the plan was never carried out, for it was argued that if the canal would allow the King of Arakan to enter Chittagong with facility at all seasons, it would make it equally easy for the Great Mogul to invade Arakan. As the Mogul was the stronger, the project was abandoned. But the reference is of interest as showing that the proposal to join Burma with India by means of some inland way was as much debated in the fifteenth century as it is in the twentieth.

Averting their eyes from the dizzy gorge, the party continued along the ridge till they came to a stone image of the Buddha seated in a rock shrine, a welcome sign of approaching civilization. With a simple and

most natural³ gesture the Arakanese knelt before this figure of their great Teacher, in thanksgiving for having passed safely through so many dangers. But Manrique was much shocked. "I approached somewhat to those that were idolatrising," he writes, "and told them that we had all to give thanks to the true God and not to that statue of stone and I added many other considerations on the subject." The Arakanese bore this sermonizing in the utmost good humour. With that tolerance, which is of the essence of true Buddhism, they let him lecture them without interruption. Standing by with a demure and patient air but contemptuous at heart, the Mahomedan prisoners assured the priest in a confidential aside that they too regarded such genuflexion to an image as abominable.

After passing the Gautama, the party left the ridge, crossed some paddy fields and just before night reached Pelun. The Portuguese were received by the Arakanese governor with the greatest hospitality. He allotted them a house, invited them to dinner and when they sent word to say they were too tired to come, he despatched the dinner to them, a huge dinner, a dinner which, when the priest and the Captain had eaten their full, the emaciated servants set on with such voracity that for their health's sake it was necessary to restrain them. Well-fed, well-housed, they lay down to sleep. The last sound they heard was another heavy downpour. The prisoners and the elephants were lodged elsewhere. They did not see them again.

Next morning was July 17th. It was nearly a month since the messenger who had hurried to warn them had left the Court. The weather had been continuously bad, but it was possible that in a fine break, the avenging fleet might leave for Dianga. Haste was very necessary. They were now in Arakan proper. They had heard that the royal fleet of 560 ships lay at Uritaung, about two days journey by boat and on the route to the Capital. It was therefore their desire to push on as soon as possible. The Governor had sent round two litters, open and lacquered palanquins, borne by menials. (He also sent umbrellas, as the rain was unabated). Manrique and Dom Gonsales were carried in these to his presence. They offered him a gift of spices, he offered them betel and they set to business. A boat, a fast galley was what they wanted. He agreed to lend one, but warned them that with such high winds the navigation from Pelun to Uritaung would be dangerous.

At the present day there is not the slightest difficulty in going by boat, from Pelun to Uritaung in any weather. I have done it myself. Evidently, therefore, the Mayu river three hundred years ago was not as it is now. To-day it is a winding stream, unaffected by the monsoon until near the sea. Then Manrique describes it as a gulf or wide estuary, exceedingly dangerous to cross in a high wind. It must be supposed that in three hundred years the current has brought down that silt which forms the paddy plain through which it now flows, or that the famous earthquake of 1762 A. D., which raised the Arakan coast several feet, effected its transformation from a gulf into a river.

As soon as Manrique and the Captain had the governor's undertaking that a fast boat would be ready for them next day, they went back to their house. Two hours later the governor's son, a boy of thirteen, returned their call. Manrique, invariably careful to observe the customs of the country, was disturbed at having no betel to offer him, for he knew betel was always given to guests as a token of welcome. Instead they gave the boy sweets, and as they were Portuguese sweets and a novelty, the young gentleman was highly delighted, particularly when the Captain added a present of Chinese damask, yellow flowers on a green ground, a fabric identical with that much affected now by Burmese ladies. The Governor on his side had been no less generous, for he had sent them earlier in the day 50 hens, two deer, four bags of scented rice, a pot of butter, with fruits and sweets.

They spent the rest of the afternoon receiving callers and at nightfall the Governor sent over another lavish dinner and a friendly message.

Before dawn they were seeing to their luggage and arranging for it to be taken down to the boat, when a message was received from the Governor, asking them to call in on their way to the water and say goodbye. Leaving instructions that the luggage was to be carried aboard immediately, Manrique and the Captain hurried in violent wind and driving rain to his residence. He was an old man and excused himself for not accompanying them to the jetty. But he placed state elephants at their disposal and ordered his young son to see them off.

On the shore the waves were breaking heavily. The lad, on behalf of his father, urged them not to set out and the pilot of the galley added his entreaties. Dom Gonsales perceived that an atmosphere of indecision was gathering and that it was time for a European nobleman to act. With a look he directed his servants to carry the priest on board; he bade the Governor's son farewell; and leaping into the galley, he flung down his outer garments and in lighter garb, a Bengal cane in his hand, ordered the frightened pilot to cast off and the thirty-six boatmen to lay on their oars. (Who was this Gonsales Tibao is not certain, but he may have been the relative or even son of that freebooter, Gonsales Tibao, who made himself Chief of the island of Sundiva in the Bay of Bengal and was defeated in an attempt on the capital of Arakan in 1615, fifteen years before the events now described).

To reach Uritaung, their course lay in a south-easterly direction down and across the gulf to a protected creek on the other side, through which they could row safely to their destination. The whole distance was about 60 miles, of which some forty were in the gulf. The party had had bad weather in all conscience since leaving Dianga, but a storm worse than any they had so far encountered was raging now. Huge seas were running, accompanied by rain, thunder and lightning. "Those who were not at the oars lay like corpses, one on top of the other." So they travelled for five hours. I have crossed the mouth of the Mayu

river on a stormy day of the monsoon and I can imagine what the old gulf was like with the wind blowing a gale.

When they reached the middle, the tide was falling and, the current running against the wind, a race was set up and the seas in consequence rose higher. The galley ceased to be manageable. The Portuguese undressed and prepared to swim for it. Some threw themselves on the oars, assisting the tired boatmen, while Manrique himself, crucifix in hand, gave a hurried absolution to all. It was neither the time nor the place, he observes, for a rigid observance of the rubric and, moreover, no one on account of the wind could hear a word he said.

After struggling for two hours in this race they reached slack water, though the waves still broke over them. The pilot was now exhausted, and Manrique took the helm. So guided and with the assistance of a small compass he carried, they ran at dusk into the entrance of the creek on the further shore. This creek was probably what is now called the Kudaung river and leads by devious inland ways to Uritaung. The galley was made fast to the bank and the boatmen going ashore, kissed the earth many times—wet though it was, adds Manrique. In fact the place in July is a marsh, a mangrove fringed expanse of paddy fields. Two miles away stood up the rock face where a hundred years before King Minba had carved reliefs, halting there on his march against the King of Bengal. The travellers were thus drawing near the centre of the Arakanese realm. Had they climbed a high tree, they could even have seen in a break of the clouds the spire of the Uritaung pagoda, twenty miles away. But they were all exhausted. The boatmen, after their first transport, lay in a sort of dead torpor, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Gonsales roused them to put up the awning against the continuous rain and to haul off from the shore to avoid the tigers. Even in that cultivated and more populous area the man-eaters appear to have been very dangerous three hundred years ago, so dangerous that, afraid the brutes might swim out to them, the Portuguese thought it safer, tired though they were, to watch in shifts all night. There was also risk of robbers. All travellers inland from India to Arakan must pass through the Kudaung creek and no doubt, as a sheltered place, it was a common anchorage for the night. There was thus a temptation for the local people to turn thieves. The creek is as much an essential link in the India-Burma connection to-day, as it was then, and curiously enough the present village of Kudaung has still an evil reputation.

The Portuguese watched till dawn and, rousing the boatmen at the first light, set out for Uritaung down the narrow winding creeks. Early in the day they reached the custom-houses of that town and were detained by the officials, who reported their arrival to the Governor.

The mention of custom-houses in the text shows that Uritaung was then the port of Arakan. It lies fifteen miles north of the present port, Akyab, and from the economic point of view is as admirably situated as the

latter, for it lies where the trade route from Pelun and Chittagong (down which the Portuguese had come in the close season) crosses the trade routes from the capital and the north area, and from Minbya and the south area. For overseas traffic the modern Akyab with its deeper harbour is better placed, but for inland navigation and for the shelter of a fleet of sailing ships the inner port of Uritaung was very suitable.

When the Governor was informed that Portuguese had arrived, he sent word to the admiral, whose fleet rode at anchor three miles away on what would now be described as an upper portion of Akyab harbour. Since the admiral was under orders to sail and sack Dianga, he concluded that the party must be some sort of peace mission and immediately sent for them. They found him near the fleet in a bamboo house, lined with fine mats and which looked "very tidy and cosy." He received them with the utmost cordiality. Without preface, beyond the presentation of a few Chinese fabrics and Indian spices, Manrique explained his business, repeating the argument that he, the spiritual head of the Portuguese at Dianga, was voluntarily placing himself in the hands of the King of Arakan as a hostage or surety for the former's fealty. He spoke with some warmth and the admiral was immediately impressed with the truth of his words. So much so, indeed, was he convinced, that he thought it polite to pretend that he himself had never doubted the loyalty of the Portuguese and that the detention at Uritaung of his fleet had been due, not to the rough weather in the Bay, but to his disinclination to rush into a violent course of action without due inquiry. The fact was, the admiral saw that Manrique, with his romantic gesture of placing himself in the King's hands, would have a great success at Court and he was anxious that the priest's account of him to the King should be complimentary.

When the conversation was reopened on more general lines, the Commander told them that the King at the moment was not at the capital, Mrauk-U, but was paying a visit to the Paragri, a large, antique stone image of the Buddha which was, and is still to be found, at the village of Paragri, near the ancient capital of Wethali, and some twenty miles north-west of Mrauk-U. This old stone sculpture dates from the eighth century and is the largest work of its kind in Arakan. The Commander advised them not to go to the capital but to proceed direct to the Paragri. He had become increasingly affable; he placed three galleys at their disposal; he put one of his Captains on special duty to conduct them; he wrote a letter to his brother-in-law at Court on their behalf; and he called for betel. From this last courtesy Manrique pleaded to be excused. But they were forced to accept and taste it. "For me it was a great mortification, but there was no escape," notes the priest. In other matters of Arakanese etiquette he did not find the same difficulty. He was always ready with his present; he could use with effect the grandiloquent language of the orient; even the elaborate salutations and prostrations from which later travellers shrank, did not disturb him; but he could not overcome his repugnance for betel.

The next day they set out for the Paragri, first rowing up the broad stream of the Kaladan river, which resembled the gulf of Mayu but was not so rough. They then turned into a smaller river, a creek where big trees met and interlaced overhead. "Upon the dense branches one could see a great number of monkeys and down below some rhinoceros. Where the place was not so thickly wooded, there were also a great many peacocks." I have seen such trees embowering the creeks, such monkeys swinging in the branches, but the rhinoceros has long since fled into the remote places of the hills. "Along these lonely and canopied rivers we travelled on and on, the men plying the oars lustily the whole of that day and the greater portion of the night." The distance from Uritaung to Paragri is not so great as from Pelun to Uritaung, but they were now rowing against the stream, for, although these rivers are tidal, in the month of July the down rush is so strong and high that the flood tide moves very slowly. The duration of the journey is thus explained.

Next morning the sun shone. This is the first mention of the sun in Manrique's text. At breakfast time they were in the middle of a populous country. They could see rice, cotton, and vegetables from the boat; they passed through riverine villages. At one of these a halt was made. The priest and Dom Gonsales ordered their servants to get breakfast ready, and the inhabitants came forward offering for sale "fowls, chickens, turtle-doves, pigeons, butter and other milky foodstuffs." The prices were very moderate. For a rupee you could buy thirty fowls. For eight annas you could get a hundred eggs. ~~Vegetables~~ must have been abundant. Nowadays the offer of a hundred rupees would not produce thirty fowls. Either the inhabitants have become more careful to observe the Buddhist command not to kill or they are poorer.

After this cheap meal, they set out again and Paragri was reached before dusk. They were surprised to find, while still three miles short of the landing stage, the whole river blocked with floating houses. Large houses, small houses, houses with suites of rooms, galleries, ante-chambers, halls, drawing rooms, all floating; there were palaces of lords and even the king's palace was there, a pleasure-house floating on its raft, worked with such neatness and beauty as to be truly magnificent, says Manrique. When the King of Arakan wanted to travel, he stepped from his stone palace in Mrauk-U into his floating palace on the river, and was thus towed at his ease about his kingdom. On these progresses he combined the administration of justice with comfort. The extraordinary network of rivers characteristic of Arakan suggested and permitted such a mode of travel. How his contemporary, or almost contemporary, Louis XIV would have enjoyed so moving among his subjects and attending the great festivals of the Church! For to rural scenes were added the society and ease of the city, while Court etiquette was humanized by contact with the people.

Thiri-thudhamma, with whom they were about to seek audience, was one of the more famous of Arakanese kings. His dynasty had been reigning for two hundred years and it was to last another one hundred

and fifty. It had built the stone city of Mrauk-U, which was certainly the finest ever built in Burma, and filled it with architectural monuments, one of which, the Dukkan-thein, is considered a unique structure. Manrique's account is therefore of special interest. He describes Arakan as it was at the height of its destiny, immediately before the decline began.

When the party found that they could proceed no further on account of the block of floating houses, they moored to the bank and the Arakanese Captain went ashore to make arrangements for an audience with the King. Next morning early he returned with the admiral's brother. This courtier told the Portuguese that the letter, explaining their mission, which the admiral had sent him, would be laid before the King as soon as possible. In order to induce him to hurry, they gave him a present and he left them with polite promises. But it was not till late at night that they received any message, and only to the effect that the King had done no public business that day. This was very disappointing, and the Portuguese began to fear they might be subjected to one of those long delays, which were the experience of envoys at Indo-Chinese Courts, be kept waiting for months and in the end sent away without an audience. With these gloomy thoughts they spent a sleepless night.

But early next morning a messenger arrived with a note from the courtier. It was excellent news. For persons with any knowledge of oriental procedure it was almost too good to be true. The note stated that the admiral's despatch had been delivered to the King, that His Majesty had read it and had immediately issued instructions that the fleet should not move from Uritaung pending further orders. The note further added that the King had told his Chancellor to call with elephants and take them to lodgings in the town. They gave the bearer of the news ten rupees, a princely tip, equivalent, on the basis of the food prices given above, to Rs. 300 nowadays. No wonder the man kissed their feet.

While waiting for the elephants, they received a call of some interest. Certain Japanese soldiers of the Body-guard, after firing a salute on the bank, advanced towards the galley and their Captain threw himself at Manrique's feet. This strange behaviour was explained by the fact that these Japanese were Christians. Apparently it was the custom of the Kings of Mrauk-U to keep a bodyguard of foreign mercenaries. Besides Japanese and northerners of the Mogul army, they employed English, French, Dutch and Portuguese. In the hundred and fifty years of decline which followed the reign of King Thiri-thudhamma, the mercenaries made and unmade Kings and were the chief cause of the disruption and final overthrow of the Mrauk-U dynasty by the Burmese.

While Manrique was conversing with the Japanese Captain and was promising that as soon as his business was over he would give them all the

spiritual comfort they needed, the Chancellor was announced. He came on an elephant, preceded by forty footmen and followed by body servants, one carrying his tobacco pouch, another his pipe, a third coals to light it, a fourth his betel-box, a fifth a jug of lemonade and a sixth a toilet basin. Well provided in this manner against all the eventualities, he alighted from his gilded turret and was conducted by Dom Gonsales onto the poop of the galley, which had been decorated for the occasion. With the usual courtesies, he was invited to sit in the chief place, a chair provided with two coloured cushions of the best down. After seating himself, he again stood up—in which he was followed by all present—and delivered the King's message. "The Padsha sends me, the smallest ant of his pantries, to welcome and bring you to lodge in the City until you have the great happiness of entering the Royal Presence." To this Manrique made suitable reply. A collation was now served and, after it, a gift consisting of a tray of pepper, a tray of cloves, a tray of cinnamon, a tray of cardamon and a tray of satin materials were presented to the visitor. He made some show of hesitation, but finally accepted it by placing his hands on his breast and bowing his head. He then suggested taking them up to the town in his barge, as that would be cooler than going by elephant. This was cordially agreed to and all went aboard it, making themselves comfortable under the awning of the poop, which was decorated in green and gold with curtains of scarlet and yellow. Manrique, however, thought it would be ungracious to leave the Japanese Captain, the conversation with whom had been interrupted by the arrival of the Chancellor, to make his way back on shore, and asked permission to take him up in the barge. It was pointed out by the courier that, of course a Japanese Captain of the Bodyguard was very much lower in rank than the Chancellor and that it would be a decided condescension on the latter's part to allow the officer on the barge. However, when he was asked, the Chancellor raised no objection. The Japanese was delighted with the honour and declared himself under a lasting obligation to the Priest. "The Japanese are the most ambitious of honour of all oriental nations," adds Manrique.

They rowed up the river. The barge had twelve oars on each side and was "a work of sculpture, with many heads of beasts and carved representations of grotesques and foliage." Traffic crowded the watery street. On either hand the floating houses were ranged in orderly rows. So they reached the jetty, from which the crowd was kept back by police and where four elephants were waiting them. The Chancellor took them to his house in which a magnificent supper was laid out. Two hundred dishes were on the table. There was meat and fish served in different kinds of fricassees, various green vegetables and rice cakes, but no bread. Part of the menu was however as foreign to European taste then as it would be now. Fried rat and snake, for instance, disgusted Manrique. The habit of using rotten fish as a seasoning did not attract him either, though he admits that there were qualities in this *nga-pi* and that the more expensive kind made with prawns was passable.

After the banquet, the Chancellor took them to some houses which had been prepared for them, and said farewell for the night. All next day the Portuguese expected to receive a summons to the King's presence and while they waited, Manrique busied himself with the cure of souls. There were several Catholic communities in Arakan, the largest of which lived in Mrauk-U City, but a certain number resided in villages round the Paragri. These last were prisoners of war, taken in forays against the Mogul, and were probably Eurasians. One of them told Manrique with great distress that he had not been to confession for nineteen years. His statement took most of the night and he was often choked with sorrow and contrition. But Manrique married him to the Arakanese girl with whom he had been living, baptising her and giving them both absolution.

Next morning the King sent a message to say that he could not see them for three days, as he was fasting. It was the beginning of the Buddhist Lent, which falls in July, and the Court had left Mrauk-U and come to Paragri to pass the holy season. Manrique spent the three days confessing Christians from the neighbouring villages.

On the fourth day the Chancellor arrived with some neatly adorned palanquins and carried Manrique and Gonsales to the palace. The King had left his floating palace and was on shore where apparently he occupied a building of some dimensions. In the first hall they were received by the Burmese Company of the body guard, which ushered them into the second hall, where a Mogul Company was on guard. From thence they passed to a third hall in which some courtiers of high rank were seated. At the other end of that was a door upon which the Chancellor struck three times. A shutter was drawn back and a hunchbacked eunuch thrust out a hideous face. "What do you want", cried the monster, "at this hour of the day battering at the door of the Master of your heads?" However, there was nothing to be afraid of. It was only etiquette, rather peculiar perhaps, but the invariable custom when you called on a King in Indo-China. The Chancellor was quite used to it; he replied with studied humility and the eunuch banged the shutter in his face. After this everyone remained kneeling in dead silence for half an hour. Manrique let his eyes wander round the hall. It looked as if an enchantment had fallen upon the company. There was not a sound in the strange place. The kneeling figures, the silence and the dreadful face at the window recalled to his mind scenes from the romances of the period, stories of palmers and paladins, dwarfs and monsters.

From these dreaming thoughts he was aroused by the face of a beautiful girl at the shutter. She was dressed in white, with white flowers in her black hair and she bade them enter in a phrase of verse :

Be welcome as the rain farmers long for,
When their rice fields are parched in the sun.
Happy strangers, welcome to a smile
From the mouth of Thiri-thudhamma, Master of our heads.

With that, venerable matrons opened the door and ushered them into a room where a number of princes were sitting. At the other end of it, behind some sort of a window through which he looked down on those assembled, was King Thiri-thudnamma. The two Portuguese did not realise immediately who was the King, but when they saw the Chancellor prostrate himself to the figure at the window, they were careful immediately to follow his example. The priest was then conducted by a matron to a seat near the princes, Gonsales being accommodated a little further back, while the Chancellor continued to kneel in the middle of the hall.

The Portuguese had brought a gift with them, which the eunuchs now carried in and presented to the King. It consisted of four items,—cloves arranged to look like an imperial crown; a hundred half pint bottles of Persian scent; fourteen bags of the purest Chinese musk; and four yards of very fine Spanish green cloth.

The King then addressed a question to Manrique, asking him how he had the courage to come such a journey in the rain. It was therefore etiquette for the latter to stand up and bow in token of gratitude. This he immediately did, for there was no one more exact than Manrique in observing the customs of the people among whom he happened to find himself. The interpreter in a whisper now told him to speak out, and turning his eyes reverentially to the King, he made a long and fervid plea for the Portuguese at Dianga. Pointing out that the King's father and grandfather had been much beholden to the Portuguese in their wars and that at the present moment they were his own sole shield against the power of the Moguls, he stated that the Moguls had offered them in the past far more than he now gave them to come over to their side, but that they had remained faithful to Arakan. He concluded and clinched the matter by declaring that if the Portuguese had treachery in their minds, they would not have dared to send him, their padre, to the King.

This was a strong speech and it conveniently ignored certain recent facts of history. Nothing was said about Dianga having been sacked for piracy twenty three years before by the King's grandfather. Nothing was said of Gonsales Tibao, the pirate, a relative of the very man now sitting among the princes, who after allying himself with the Arakanese, invited their Captains to a feast, murdered them all and took their vessels. The subsequent attack by the same Gonsales on the Arakanese capital with the assistance of the Viceroy of Goa and his bloody defeat was also not alluded to, nor the revenge of the present King's father. In point of fact, the Arakanese Kings had had the greatest trouble with the Portuguese along the Chittagong coast. These people were nothing but pirates, freebooters and adventurers, independent of the Viceroy of Goa, where settled Government of a sort existed, but able to invoke his aid if the prize was big enough, as when the latter helped Tibao, because the capital of Arakan was said to be both rich and

weak. King Thiri-thudhamma in fact can have had no sort of confidence in the Portuguese. But his kingdom now included Chittagong; he had no way of defending that state against the Mogul except with the assistance of the Portuguese; and he deemed it prudent to make use of them as long as they found it convenient to serve his interests. Moreover he was convinced that at the moment he had been misinformed by the Governor of Chittagong and that they did not contemplate any treachery against him. Without, therefore, attempting to argue with Manrique, he replied shortly that he was sure the Portuguese were his very good servants and that he would recall his fleet. A curtain was then lowered over the window from which he spoke and everyone was dismissed.

Next day Manrique sent an express messenger to Dianga with the good news. The letter is characteristic of the man and the age. It is a long homily of eleven hundred words. Nothing is said of his journey and hardships; no details about the King and his attitude are given. It is a sermon about the virtue of gratitude, with numerous allusions to the Fathers, full of theological quibbles and ending with an exhortation to the readers to marry the native women with whom they were living. In fact his first and only reference to the matter in hand does not occur till the eight-hundredth word, where he says vaguely "Let us consider rather how great will be our thanks, since the Lord has delivered us from perils so great and so evident, as were the ruin and destruction of these Christianities, in defence of which many must have lost their lives." If the recipients of this letter were human, they must in reading it have attempted to skip the homily and come on to the pith, only to find that it was all homily and to be left at last in suspense whether or not they were delivered from the danger of an attack by the fleets of Arakan.

Manrique and his party were now free to return, having accomplished their object, but the priest decided to stay till the rains were over and employ the time in visiting the various Christian communities. After his successful interview with the King he was received by the nobility and gentry, making himself popular wherever he went by the acceptable little presents he was in the habit of giving. This enabled him to get a second interview, in which he secured the dismissal of the Governor of Chittagong, that dangerous man who had caused all the trouble and might have been formidable in revenge; and he took the same opportunity to obtain leave to visit the capital, Mrauk-U, where there was a large settlement of Christians, and to build them a Catholic Church. In the course of conversation, the priest had given the King some valuable information to the effect that it was the declared policy of the Portuguese government, both in Lisbon and at Goa, to assist the Arakanese against the Mogul, on the ground that the latter aspired to make himself lord paramount of all India and must be resisted by the creation of some sort of a balance of power. Thiri-thudhamma was so grateful to have this authoritative statement of foreign policy, that he took a small gold box, chased with rubies and sapphires, from his betel casket and presented it to Manrique. There is no doubt that the priest

was a man of very firm character, thoroughly informed, and a careful diplomatist, except where matters of religion came into question, when he seemed to lose all sense of tact.

He now set out for the city of Mrauk-U, accompanied by all his party, by a number of Christian prisoners of war enlarged by the King at his request, and by a high police official. They travelled by galley, slept one night on the way and were received in great state by the leading Portuguese of Mrauk-U, who came out to meet them in a fine galley, from which floated the banner of Portugal, with its five escutcheons, the marks of the five wounds of Christ. These men were all in the employ of the King of Arakan as officers and gunners. To their suburb, Daingri-hpet, which lay immediately outside the walls, but separated from them by a small creek, they conducted Manrique, delighted to welcome a priest, for they had had no spiritual comfort for many years. A great rush of communicants was the result and Manrique, after hearing the confession nine years long of eighty-nine persons in five days, fell ill from over-exertion. For three months he was constantly in danger of death. The King, who had meanwhile returned from the Paragri to his capital, sent kind messages, lent him his doctor, and recommended a certain root, which Manrique calls a Lucerrage, and which had the most remarkable anti-toxic effect. On his recovery, the Church built during his illness, was opened in the third week of October, and was the occasion of a great fete, fireworks, illuminations, salutes of musketry, to which came crowds of Arakanese, including "some Princes and respectable Gentlemen."

After this ceremony, Manrique repaired to the palace to thank the King for his kind attentions. The latter received him with a "beaming smile." Talking of one thing and another, the King was rash enough to provoke the priest to a theological discussion. On such a subject Manrique never minced matters. He immediately said that the Paragri was the pure invention and deceit of the devil. Thiri-thudhamma, however, was not in the least offended. "He winked at one of the Rahans near him, inviting him to answer me," writes Manrique. Then followed a remarkable discussion. Neither side had defined their terms and each argued entirely at cross purposes. Manrique treated his antagonist with the utmost contempt. He was, of course, ignorant of the profound metaphysical system of the Buddhists and the statements made by the Rahan appeared to him fantastical to a degree. When the latter, stating the doctrine of Karma in rather a paradoxical manner, said that souls were reincarnated in order that they might commit more sins, Manrique lost all patience and cried that if the people listened to such teaching they would find themselves at death, not in heaven, but among the everlasting torments of hell, where lived their own gods in the company of demons.

The Rahan was beginning to answer, when the King made him a sign and turning to the priest said that although he liked hearing him

argue very much, he was afraid he might tire himself after his fever, and that some other day he would arrange for him to dispute with the Shittaung Hpongri, a more learned ecclesiastic than these Rahans.

I doubt if in the range of oriental history there is to be found a more significant scene than this. A Catholic priest tells an eastern King in his own palace that the abstruse philosophy he has inherited from a remote antiquity is merely the worship of demons. The King with an almost superhuman politeness suggests that the priest must be feeling tired. The unique architecture of the Mrauk-U dynasty does not afford a stronger proof than this of their urbane civilization.

There now remained for the priest before he returned to Dianga but one last task, the incidental details of which shed so rare and amiable a light upon the person of King Thiri-thudhamma and upon the Arakan of the seventeenth century, that I cannot omit to recount it.

Manrique had built and consecrated the church in the suburb of Daingri-hpet. Those Christians resident there, namely the Portuguese officers and gunners in the King's army, the Japanese in the body-guard, and the Dutch, English and French mercenaries, had therefore a place of worship provided for them in their midst. But there were also certain Arakanese Christians, who had been converted to Catholicism by previous missionaries and who lived scattered among the Buddhists of the capital and neighbourhood. As a result they were lapsing back into Buddhism. These persons Manrique wished to collect and settle in Daingri-hpet among the other Christians, so that they could attend the church and keep strictly within the dogmas of their religion. How to get leave to move them was the question. Manrique knew that such an action openly done would arouse the suspicions of the King and his Council, who might inquire what was the meaning of such a concentration on the part of the Portuguese. His old friend, the Japanese Captain, mindful of the honour done to him at the Paragri, offered his help and suggested that the matter could best be arranged by backstairs influence. He had a Burmese wife. There lived in the palace an old Burmese lady, step-grandmother of the present King, a princess of the royal house of Pegu, who had been taken in forcible marriage when her father was defeated by the then King of Arakan in 1599, thirty-one years before. The Captain's wife had free entry to her apartments. She was, moreover, reputed to be well disposed towards Christians. He would try and enlist her sympathy, said the Japanese.

Three days later he came to the priest with the old princess's clever suggestion. Ask the King for a grant of some pagoda-slaves, said she. If he agrees, you can get the names of the Christians you want inserted in the grant.

The suggestion was clever because it was in accordance with custom and would provoke no comment. When a religious building was completed, the King always set aside slaves, (prisoners of war, rebels or

common malefactors) who for the rest of their lives and for the lives of their descendants cleaned and maintained the structure. It was a practical solution to the problem of preserving religious monuments. It kept pagodas in repair for generations. The position of the slave, of course, was hopeless to a degree. As Buddhagosha lays down, "pagoda-slaves set aside by Kings are fixed and settled for the five thousand years of the Church." Neither they nor their descendants could ever be liberated. But Manrique was only concerned to give a legal colour to his concentration of Christians at Daingri-phet. He calculated that the King would not see through the fiction, as the request would appear so natural. The next move was to call on the princess, thank her for the advice and ask for an interview with the King.

From the suburb of Daingri-hpet to the palace was only a distance of about a mile; one crossed the creek by a ferry, climbed the rising ground to the gate, and so up the three flights of steps through the triple wall to the door of the palace. A suitable present had been sent on ahead, and the priest was not kept waiting. The princess received him with an easy affability. She was seated on a low dais among cushions of violet velvet, arranged over silk carpets embroidered with gold and seed pearls. Six girls, gaily dressed, knelt near her, offering betel and fanning away the troublesome flies. (No doubt the sanitary arrangements of the palace were responsible for these last). Twenty venerable old gentlemen, dressed in ample folds of violet damask, were also in attendance. Two of these courtiers conducted Manrique to a seat on a lower dais among less expensive cushions.

Copying with his usual care the manners of those present the priest made a succession of low prostrations to Her Greatness, murmuring the while compliments and suitable thanks. In return she began to talk of the old days in Pegu when she was a girl; how she had often visited the Catholic Church there and had seen the image of the Virgin, of whom the Father had told her such marvels; how she had even learnt to recite the Ave Maria. But she had forgotten the words now. Too much had happened since, the ruin of her family, the deaths of her relatives, her own exile. Unable to continue, she burst into tears. Trying to repress her grief, the sad memories overwhelmed her; she gave a loud sigh and almost fainting was taken inside.

Manrique was very embarrassed at this emotional turn of events. He had come on business and had trespassed on the intimacies of a Queen's heart. He did not know whether to go or stay. Seeing him at a loss, one of the old gentlemen came up and with inimitable politeness made conversation, until one of the ladies-in-waiting came out with the Dowager's apologies and with the assurance of her future good offices. With that, the priest was shown out by the twenty old noblemen and by some janitors with silver staves in their hands.

A few days later, with a present of chickens, rice, butter, fruits and ninety yards of embroidery the Dowager sent him an invitation to come

to the palace grounds next day, for there would be an entertainment, some young elephants recently captured in the mountains being on show, and the King was to attend.

At the appointed time, Manrique set out, taking with him a few toys for the King's children, as he thought such a gift might serve as an introduction to his request. Thiri-thudhamma soon appeared and when he saw the priest bowing to him, asked in Hindustani if he had come to see the elephants. (Evidently the Portuguese did not know the Arakanese language and the King therefore addressed him in the *lingua franca* of the East.) The royal party moved on to a gallery, overlooking an open square near a tank. Manrique was invited to find a seat among the courtiers below the King.

Then followed a most charming scene, a scene so described that it creates for us once and for all King Thiri-thudhamma and his sons, giving us so vivid a glance into the palace which now lies ruined, that we might seem to have been among the courtiers with Manrique that day three centuries ago. "While the King's younger son was reclining in the arms of a gentleman near me", writes our author, "I pulled out of my sleeve a small box of gold and black, with designs in mother-of-pearl. Inside was a small, white, fluffy dog, very natural-looking, who, on showing himself, played with his paws—a Chinese toy. When I showed the toy to the small Infante, he came to me at once, and sitting near me was delighted to see the artificial little dog playing pranks with his paws. I gave him the box and he went with it quite happy to his father, who delighted in the amusement of his boys, the bigger lad, the elder having now gone near too. The Royal Father began playing with both and forgetting for the nonce his royal gravity, he launched into a thousand jokes about the little dog. The bigger boy wished to take it into his hands and the King gave it him; but the smaller one changed countenance and wanted his brother to let go; he resisted, and the younger one began to cry, so that to pacify him the bigger boy had to be told to give it up, and then he too looked sad and upset, and coming to where I was, asked me to give him another little dog."

The priest had no more dogs, but his capacious sleeve contained another present and one more suited to an older boy, namely a knife-case containing two daggers with crystal handles, garnished with gold and small rubies, a piece of Ceylon work which sounds in rather gaudy taste. However, the young prince was delighted and with a generosity worthy of his station gave Manrique in return his short sword, chased with gold and sapphires, and worth far more than the gift he had received. All this, as Manrique had hoped, put the King in a very good humour. The elephants, too, were spraying the crowd of onlookers with water from the tank. The greatest gaiety prevailed. At this propitious moment he proffered his request. "Grant me, Pad-shah Bok-sha, said he, some pagoda slaves for the service of the new church you allowed me to build." The King immediately sent for the Chancellor and told him

to make out the necessary papers for as many slaves as the padre might require, and the entertainment being at an end, the royal party re-entered the palace. It only remained for Manrique to see the business through. Many formalities had to be carried out, papers sealed and signed, but with the help of his masterly tact, the names of the particular Arakanese Christians he wanted were entered on the grant and a few days later the men were handed over to him. So he accomplished his last object, collecting round the Church in the Portuguese suburb all the Christians of the vicinity. There, united and refreshed, they were able to practise, thanks to the tolerance of the authorities, their Catholic rites in a Buddhist City. In what city of Europe at that date could a community of Buddhists have done the same?

This narrative of Fra Manrique's journey and the successful achievement of his immediate objects, though it does not take us to the end of his travels, is sufficient to give a most concrete idea of Arakan in the heyday of the Mrauk-U dynasty. Unfortunately no history of that dynasty has yet been written. When such a work is compiled, an epoch of Indo-Chinese history will be revealed as brilliant as that of Pagan. Indeed to some minds its annals will be more interesting, as less parochial, for Arakan was within the general orbit of oriental politics; great figures of the outer world—the Mogul, the Viceroy of Goa, pirates, fallen princes from Hindustan, friars and navigators, come and go; their thoughts and actions are in relief against the Kings in stone palace and strange pagoda, and because of that relief the complete picture is more arresting.

M. S. COLLIS.

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AN ARAKANESE POEM OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

BY M. S. COLLIS.

Mr. San Shwe Bu in Volume IX, Part III, page 151 of the Burma Research Journal has already given a sketch of the life of Ugga Byan, the author of the poem translated below. But for the convenience of the reader and in order to complete the subject under one head, I will here retrace shortly the main facts of his history. The authorities which mention him are the Mahā Rāzawin, the Dinnyawaddi Ayedawpon and the Nga Lat Rone Rāzawin, all Arakanese MSS. in the library of Mr. San Shwe Bu. There is also, however, a considerable unwritten tradition, in which he assumes the proportions of a mythical hero. The account here will be confined to the historical facts of his career.

We find his name first mentioned about the year 1593 A. D. as the tutor of Prince Min-kamaung, eldest son and heir of King Rāzagri of Arakan, the greatest king of the Mrauk-U dynasty and the grandfather of Thiri-thudhamma, whom Manrique has described so well. The prince, Min-kamaung, was wild and he found in his tutor a boon companion. They had a band of youthful supporters, Nga Ru, Nga Piu, Nga Gru, ten of them, and they lived that life of erudition and of the imagination wedded to fighting, brawling, feats of arms and of endurance, the tradition of which is familiar to us from a study of the European Renaissance.

The history of Ugga Byan's tutorship is concerned solely with his three attempts to assassinate his pupil's father King Rāzagri, and with the terrible punishment at last inflicted on the poet.

On the first occasion, the ten worthies abovementioned were told off to despatch him. The plot was discovered and Prince Min-kamaung with his tutor retired to Pegu, then the centre of Burmese civilization. There they had a great success. Ugga Byan's poems were much admired and he, like the Playboy of the Western World, moving within the halo of a parricide, cut a very fine figure. From this they were withdrawn by a free pardon from the King.

A year or two later, Rāzagri, in the ordinary course of government, invaded Hanthawaddi and invested Pegu. He was accompanied by his son and Ugga Byan. During the siege, Ugga Byan thought he saw a favourable opportunity to accomplish what he had failed to do on a previous occasion. Again the plot failed, and he and the Prince went over to the enemy. But when it appeared likely that Rāzagri would take the town, Min-kamaung and his party cut their way out again. This feat so pleased the King, that he again offered a free pardon to all concerned.

Like certain persons mentioned by De Quincey in his "Murder as one of the Fine Arts", there must have been something about Rāzagri which invited assassination. The MSS. do not reveal what it was. Perhaps his excessive amiability caused an irritation, an itching. One cannot tell. Suffice it to say that hardly had the army returned from Pegu, when the poet had his third attempt on him. This time it was more in the nature of a rebellion. Min-kamaung and he were down at Sandoway, visiting the pagodas. The town was full of Pagoda-slaves, Mahomedan prisoners of war confined there to sweep out the three sacred shrines, Andaw, Nandaw and Sandaw,—all desperate men. A word was enough for such fellows. At the head of this army of pagoda slaves, the Prince with his tutor marched on Mrauk-U, the capital. But Rāzagri met, defeated and captured them.

The King was evidently a man who learnt by experience, for he now made up his mind that Ugga Byan was not a safe tutor for his son and decided to terminate the appointment. And, observing that the poet evidently found himself at home with pagoda-slaves, he attached him in that capacity to the temple of Mahāmuni.

It is difficult for us to understand the full significance of that punishment. It was the most complete social downfall that could overtake a man. For one who had strutted in King's Courts, a poet and a hero, the equal of princes, it was death, and Ugga Byan accepted it as such.

Years later, when Rāzagri had been succeeded by Min-kamaung, the new King remembered his old tutor and boon companion, once so brilliant a nobleman, and offered to reinstate him. But Ugga Byan refused. He quoted the law "A pagoda-slave dedicated by one King cannot be freed except by the command of a greater king." This was too blunt for Min kamaung and it is not recorded that he ever approached Ugga Byan again. The poet's words may sound like a retort, the cry of an embittered man. In fact they were nothing but the sober truth. Public opinion, immemorial custom weighed on him. Once a pagoda-slave, always a pagoda-slave. It would have required a much greater King than Min-kamaung to have overcome that conviction and to have reintroduced Ugga Byan into society. He was a disgraced man and in this utter degradation he remained for the rest of his life.

Such is the history of Min-kamaung's tutor, such is the life of the poet who composed the poem here translated.

The work is said to have been written about the year 1595 A.D. when Ugga Byan was in Pegu. It is in the form of a Ra-tu and is his only extant piece. The word Ra-tu means "Seasonal" and is a form of poetical composition much affected both in India and Burma. The poet speaks through the mouth of a woman, a wife left at home by

her husband, who is abroad, travelling, fighting or exiled. The wife pictures their town, the common sights of the countryside and her love, and sends the poem to him. He reads it and overcome by homesickness, returns back. It is on such lines that a Ra-tu is generally written. In the particular Ra-tu here translated, it is supposed that Min-kamaung's favourite wife, left at Mrauk-U while he is away at Pegu, is the speaker and begs him to return to her.

The poem has been preserved on palm-leaf, and one of the few MSS. copies in existence is in Mr. San Shwe Bu's library. Though well known to the older generation, it is now a very rare work. It is written in archaic Arakanese and offered the most stubborn resistance to its translator. The ungarnished literal rendering, upon which the verse translation is made, was the combined effort of several persons. Mr. San Shwe Bu informs me that he had to consult hpongyis, his grandmother and various other elderly people before he was satisfied that he had arrived at the exact sense. It was then for me to present it in some form which would suggest the original. Anyone who has attempted translations from foreign verse will appreciate my difficulty. There are two schools of translation; according to one an exact word for word rendering of the original is essential; according to the other the translator should concern himself chiefly with recreating for the modern world the old life and emotion of his model. I will let my readers determine to which school I belong. But Mr. San Shwe Bu allows me to record that in his opinion the verse translation here given is a close and accurate version of his manuscript.

The poem is certainly a valuable document on the social and religious life of Arakan at the end of the 16th century, and serves as a background for Manrique's almost contemporary account. He described the outside; this Ra-tu shows what was going on within. As has often been observed before, the thoughts and feelings of humanity do not change with the centuries; it is only the outward expression which varies. But Ugga Byan's poem remains very true of Arakan to this day, both inside and out. The weather is the same; many of the festivals still survive; the temperament of the people is identical; Mahāmuni has been carried away and Mrauk-U is in ruins, but still races are held on the Thinganaddi, processions pass to the sacred hill and flowers are laid at the knees of the Exalted.

M. S. COLLIS.

I. *Tabaung.—March.*

To-day I took early the forest path ;
 There a dry wind was driving the withered leaves ;
 But already the new sprays were on the boughs ,
 So green, so fresh, that tears came to my eyes.
 By the pathside were all the flowers of Tabaung,
 Each in his choice place, like a gem well set,
 The Silver flower, the Flower-of-a hundred-passions,
 And many more, the forest flowers of spring.
 So in the mild air, neither hot nor cold,
 Hushed by their odours, prayerfully I went,
 Plucking now here, now there a precious flower.
 With these I mounted the Pagoda steps
 And laid them at the knees of the Exalted.

II. *Tagu.—April.*

Let me recite my prayer with lifted hands.
 Tabaung is over and gone ; Tagu begins ;
 The New Year comes ; but I am sorrowful,
 For you are far from me at a foreign court.
 The rains will soon fall, but you have not written ;
 No word, no message of love has come from you.
 Have you no longing to return at this season ?
 I heard a bird sing in the forest to-day :
 Its voice was my voice, calling you to come back.
 What if the King of Heaven from his seat on Mount Meru
 Should hear and transport you suddenly to me ?
 Would we not go together to the Water Festival ?
 This year the boat-races are on the Thinganaddi,
 South of the City of Golden Mrauk-U.

III. *Kason.—May.*

The Water Feast is past ; a new moon waxes ;
 Still my thoughts follow you incessantly.
 Everywhere doves are cooing ; through the leaves
 The light seems every colour of gay green
 Or misty showers pass over in thin drizzle.
 But all these only make my heart more sad,
 For thinking I must see them without you,
 So that three parts of the night I often lie
 Wakeful and wishing you were by me here,
 That we might watch together the moving sky,
 See the Rain-king marshal his thunder clouds
 And make his lightnings flicker ; see the Sun-king,
 In his rich coat of a thousand scarlet flames,
 Drive out and set his horses at a gallop
 In circuit of Mount Meru ; on the summit
 The King of Heaven sits, smiling at this,

Until, an amber rod in his left hand,
 His right upon a sword, he shouts again.
 At once the Rain-king summons back the clouds,
 Darkens the sky, darts lightning everywhere,
 And a shower rushing down settles the dust.

IV. Nayon.—June.

Last month the Monsoon struggled to break loose;
 But now the free rain-wind has set southwest,
 A wind of clouds, which rise from a dark sea
 And hang in folds of black over the land.
 Heavy showers fall now, the rain spills on earth,
 And countrymen look to their ploughs and cattle;
 The birds, with their fat fledglings close behind,
 Walk in the fields, searching the ground for food,
 And fly away, wing to wing, happy and fond.
 These sights, the cattle plough, the waiting field,
 The play last night of lightning in the leaves—
 All these increase my longing and my love.
 How can I live without you a whole year?
 I am distracted with the dismal thought.

V. Wazo.—July.

Summer is far departed ; rain increases ;
 The sky was overcast of a sudden to-day
 And I heard thunder rumble and thought of you—
 Your princess thinks only of love of you !
 How the time hurries ! Monks prepare for Lent
 Already in wonderful monasteries of the Jungle ;
 The Sun-king shows himself no more in the sky,
 And rain falls all day long, though with head bowed
 I have besought the King of Heaven to stop it,
 For such rain damps the heart with you away.
 My bed is cold and humid, half my bed,
 Your half, and when I look on it, I weep,
 Lying awake, oppressed by anxious thoughts,
 Listening to distant drums and cymbals struck
 Far off in the midnight streets or temple-yards,
 My sadness growing till the first cock-crow
 And the wild mingled notes of early birds.

VI. Wagaung.—August.

Wazo indeed was wet, but in Wagaung
 A rain, a torrent rushes out of heaven,
 Filling the hollows, falling day and night
 On field-embankment, flooding every land
 That lies by river fringe or forked creek-side,
 A sea-born rain, that south-west winds renew,

Sucking it from the ends of a dark sea,
 Lit of no sun, but by the flares of lightning,
 Where thunder crashes louder than heavy waves.
 If such rain ceased and paddy fields lacked water,
 The offer of right gifts to the King of Heaven
 Could certainly invoke it back again.
 But you nor prayer nor grief brings back to me :
 Your heart is harder now than it was once :
 Cold days are near—Oh, can you still forget !
 Dear love, come back ! I plead with you—Come back !

VII. *Tawthalin*.—*September*.

The last of the rain drops feebly away :
 Tawthalin's ripening glow spreads through the land ;
 On every hillside patch of rice men laugh :
 From every hilltop garden they scare birds :
 Watching the crops go yellow, they are cheered.
 The farmer's house is gay with talk and friends :
 Bird-song and bee-drone swell the hum of gladness :
 Filled with all sounds, the forest trembles with life,
 And he that walks in it, feels no fatigue.
 Ah, Love, all the love-thoughts, all the old longings
 Of so many months rise and assail me now ;
 If in this time of Tawthalin we two
 Could lie down side by side on this bed of mine,
 I'd have you as close by me as the gem
 That rests upon my throat ; not the Abodes
 Of Tavatimsa could yield me more bliss,
 For we'd be indivisible and one.

VIII. *Wagyut*.—*October*.

Wagyut is in, the month of festivals,
 The time of pleasures and gladness in the country.
 Some make umbrellas, wrap up rice in jack-leaves,
 Arrange flower stands and set out lamps in a row ;
 All these they offer to pagodas and images :
 Some observe also the Five and the Eight Precepts,
 Doing much charity as befits a Buddhist ;
 Others betake themselves beyond the city
 And there together swill down pots of drink
 Till all are drunk and some abuse each other,
 Some fight among themselves and some are sick :
 And others make cooked rice into pagodas,
 Stand in a ring and sing old songs in chorus,
 Clapping the time with bamboos and with hands.
 So they keep festival throughout the country,
 And every where in noise, confusion and music
 Processions pass to the pagoda-hill.

Such was the end of Lent. The mist still hangs
 A half-seen wrapping, till the north winds blow
 From the unmelting snows of Himavanta.
 Love, Love, had you known all my love for you,
 Would you have stayed from me so long a while?
 Come back—I beg you on my knees—Come back!

IX. *Tasaungmon.—November.*

The sign of Tasaungmon is a chilly wind.
 Still festivals and fairs are in every village:
 Those who would worship the Sulāmuni
 Set up a bamboo sixty cubits in height
 And run a rope of lamps to the top of it,
 With music and the rhythm of rural song.
 That I could offer up such lamps with you!
 Day in, day out, my prayers for your return
 Have gone to the holy relics of the Buddha,
 But no one hears me, no one sends you back,
 Though the north-eastern wind is cold and bites
 Me through the blankets. Will you never come!
 I hope no longer, without hope exist,
 A wretched woman, hardly touching food,
 Taking no drink, in mind and body ill,
 Utterly miserable, like one half dead.

X. *Nadaw.—December.*

Flowers of Nadaw have come, but nights are cold,
 Savagely cold for one who waits alohe,
 Her poor mind fluttering, as she longs to feel
 The close warmth of your arms consoling her.
 Sleepless she lies now through the bitter nights,
 Fixing her thoughts on you, but cold to the bone.
 Why do the Nats who inhabit the Six Regions
 Allow so cruel a cold to chill us here?
 Night after night I have complained to them,
 Till I am weary complaining; they do not hear.
 Wherefore I raise my hands in the form of a bud,
 Wherefore appeal over the Nats to Buddha,
 To those two certain Shapes of Him that exist,
 To Mahāmuni, which lies beyond the City,
 And to Sulāmuni in Tavatimsa,
 Which is beyond the cities of this world.

XI. *Pyatho.—January.*

This is a colder winter than last year,
 A bright sun, but a north wind, and a mist
 In the mornings like a blanket of woolly cotton;
 And though I settle cloth screens round my bed,

The draught gets under them and makes me shiver.
 If only you were back with me again,
 Wearing that gold chain I remember well !
 I can exactly see you as you looked
 The morning when you left me and set out,
 Your eye as large and liquid as a planet,
 But in your air something obscure and lofty.
 There is a region where sun never shines,
 The icy valleys of the Himavanta ;
 The lake Anādatta there overflows
 The rock Tilangana, the mount Trisāna :
 From those strange mountain places winds are blowing,
 That wreak their cold on me and wring my heart
 With longing for your safe and quick return.

XII. *Tabodwe*.—*February*.

Today was the festival of Tug-of war :
 The cold had gone ; through the mild evening air
 Holiday crowds entered the capital,
 Singing their old songs to the old-time tunes,
 Till the whole city was full of their sound.
 Laughing and shouting in lightheartedness,
 Groups of them gathered at the tugs-of-war,
 Settling their friends and sisters ready in line,
 Urging the girls to grip well on the rope
 And the boys to give a strong pull together.
 So for hours they were happy and highspirited,
 In bright clothes, very bright in their gold ornaments,
 The beat of the band-music always high
 When a new tug began or the victors danced.
 Night advanced ; the moon rose over the city.
 The streets were still full of the same mad crowd
 That posed and pironetted, shouting jests,
 Not one of them with any thought of sleep.
 I sat on watching ; midnight was long gone ;
 The morning cocks were crowing ; still I lingered,
 More saddened now by reason of their joy.
 But suddenly the sun burst out of ground,
 Rousing the birds, making them hop and stretch,
 Open their wings and wheel above the tops,
 And fill the forest morning with their songs.
 My eyes went after them, I saw beyond
 Flowers everywhere, on tree and every bush
 A fire of flowers, the same wild flowers of spring
 I'd plucked a year ago with such fond prayers,
 With such fond hopes had laid before the Exalted—
 Fond foolish hopes, for you have not come back.

M. S. COLLIS.

NOTES ON THE ABOVE POEM.

BY SAN SHWE BU.

No I.—This poem is called *Tasè-lina-rā-thī-ratu* or twelve season *ratu* and is probably on similar lines to the twelve boat-songs, corresponding to the twelve months of the year, supposed to have been composed during the reign of Duttaboung. It is said that the Arakanese *ratu* was first composed by the Dhammazait *Amat* who flourished about the time of the Chandra kings of Vesali (8th to 10th century A.D.) and was constructed upon Indian models. Its composition is somewhat peculiar, and when chanted accurately, as it always ought to be, the effect is most pleasing to the ear. As a general rule the first line consists of three feet, the first two of which contain four syllables each and the third has three only. Then all other remaining lines have four feet each, of which the first and the last have six syllables and the second and the third four syllables. Thus in Dewan Aung Gyaw Rhi's *ratu*:-

မကိရ်တန်းဆားတုန်ညွှန်ပြာသည်။ဆရာခေါင်။

တပြောင်ပြောင်ထွန်းလျှင်လင်း။ ရွှေကျောင်းပိမ့်နီ။ ဇေတဝန်ဝယ်။ ထာရိပုန်သယ်မင်း။ သိုရဟန်းချင်နှင့်မသူ။
ရွာကိုစွန့်ထား။ ဟေဝန်တောမှား။ ထွက် သွားစံတော်မူလျက်။

But in the present poem the above rule is not strictly observed. The author takes great privileges and has succeeded in producing a very irregular piece of composition. The English equivalents for the Burmese months are, of course, only approximate.

No. II. KING OF HEAVEN.—The Thagyamin who is the ruler of the six abodes of the Nats. He is the same as the Vedic deity Indra. The more common of his other names are the following :- *Sakra*, the able one (Thagyamin of the Burmese); *Divapati*, the lord of the gods; *Bajri*, he who wields the thunderbolt; *Vritrahā*, the destroyer of Vritra (drought); *Meghavahana*, he who rides on the clouds; *Mehondra*, the great Indra; *Swargapati*, the lord of Heaven.

WATER FESTIVAL.—When the sun enters the constellation Aswini in the sign Aries we have the "Ata-ne" or New Year's Day of the Thingyan period. The Water Festival begins from this day and continues for three days. On the first day the holy images and monasteries are ceremonially washed. Then on the following days the elderly people observe the Eight and Ten Precepts while the younger folks throw water on one another.

THINGANADDI.—The classical name of the small navigable creek that flows up to Mrohoung (Mrauk-U) from the south. Boat races are still held there every year.

No. III.—THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHIST MYTHOLOGY ON BUDDHIST IDEAS. The Arakanese claim that they are of Indian origin. The "Kyaukro Thamaing" and the "Shwe-myine-dhammathat" are most

positive about this, and they go even so far as to state that the first inhabitants of Arakan were the Hindus (Indians). Be that as it may, it is clear that the Arakanese received their civilisation from India. Their religion, literature, social customs and beliefs and the like, are unmistakably derived from Hindu sources, but with modifications according to local needs and conditions. Thus in common with the Hindus the Arakanese employ the Vedic and Puranic gods in their scheme of the creation. They also share the same beliefs as the Hindus in regard to the forms and attributes of these deities. Indra and Surya are the Thagyamin and Sun god of the Arakanese. Parjanya, the rain god and Vāyu or Vāta, the wind god, are the Maruts or companions of Indra, who more or less controls all their actions. This idea is clearly brought out in the present poem. Besides these gods the Puranic triad, Brahma, Siva and Vishnu, plays a most important part in Arakanese art and literature. Perhaps the finest example of this Hindu influence is to be found in the splendid sculptures of the Shitthoung Temple at Mrohoung where almost all the most important deities of the Hindu Pantheon are beautifully represented.

NO. V. MONKS IN JUNGLE MONASTERIES.—Monks who lead a life of real seclusion have their monasteries built in peaceful valleys among the hills, are thoroughly suited to a life of contemplation.

DRUMS AND CYMBALS.—Musical instruments in common use among the Arakanese. These are of Indian origin. Some of them are no longer in existence.

NO. VIII. UMBRELLAS.—The large white umbrellas that are usually placed above the images.

WRAP UP JACK LEAVES.—The Arakanese expression for this is ခပ်ခပ်ဆီ. Cooked rice is packed in jack leaves in the shape of small cones. Each complete offering consists of 33 cones; these are placed in a row round a lower tier of a pagoda. This practice is not kept up now and consequently the expression is meaningless to modern Arakanese.

FLOWER STANDS.—Usually a flower is fixed on to the end of a thin strip of bamboo. When several of these have been collected, their other ends are inserted into a stick of pith in various directions. Thus it forms a sort of "Flower tree" ခပ်ခပ်ဆီ which is placed before an image.

MAKE COOKED RICE INTO PAGODAS.—The Arakanese expression for this is ခပ်ခပ်ဆီ. This consists in kneading cooked rice into a paste. It is then shaped like a pagoda and placed in the middle of a tray. Surrounding this on the tray are a number of smaller pagodas made out of the same material. The whole is then offered up to an image or pagoda.

NO. IX. SULAMANI.—There are supposed to be five *Munis* altogether. They are, Sakya-Muni, Canda-Muni, Cula-Muni (Sulamuni), Maha-Muni and Dussa-Muni. The first is to be found at Kapilavastu, now in the Nepalese Tarai. The second is at Kosala, modern Oudh.

The third is in the Tavatimsa region. The fourth is in Arakan (now in Burma). The fifth is in the Brahma region. The poem seems to suggest that in olden days the Arakanese believed that by worshipping the Sula Muni image in the cold weather the cold is minimised.

NO. X.—SIX REGIONS OF NATS.—They are:- Catumaharaja, Tavatimsa, Yama, Tussita, Nimma narati, Paranimmita vassavati. The first region is situate half way up Mt. Meru. The second is right on the top of it where the Thagyamin has his Wezayanta palace. The remainder are above this and are placed one above the other in serial order. The beings of these regions are called *nats*. Though they are endowed with superhuman powers, they are still subjected to the law of transition in which birth, growth and death take place in alternate succession. But they enjoy great length of life. The longest term being in the highest region and the shortest in the lowest region which is Catumaharaja. A day in the latter region, for instance, is equivalent to fifty years on earth.

NO. XI ANADATTA.—This is a lake supposed to be situated in the great Himalaya (Himavanta) region. It has four openings facing the cardinal points. One resembles the mouth of a lion, another that of a bull, the next that of an elephant and the last that of a horse. From these four openings four great rivers are supposed to flow—Brahmaputra or Tsanpo, Ganges, Indus and Zungaria.

TILANGANA.—It is a great slab of rock on which the river Ganges falls after rushing down from the Anadatta lake.

TRISANA.—A mythical mountain which lies in the path of the river Ganges. The force of the current is so great that when it reaches this mountain the waters rush up its side and fall over the top in a roaring cascade.

NO. XII. TUG OF WAR.—The tug-of-war festival is of ancient origin. It is still celebrated in Arakan much in the same manner as before. It is not religious, but agricultural and magical, for the old Arakanese believed that its celebration would ensure regular monsoons and abundant crops. It lasts for three nights and ends on the night or the first waning of Tabodwe. The tug of-war itself consists of four wooden wheels fixed on a stout framework of bamboo and wood. It roughly resembles a cart, in the centre of which small bamboo trees, with leaves and branches tied together into a sheaf, are fastened in an upright position. A long stout rope is then attached to each end of the cart and pulled in opposite directions. The tug-of-war is held during the nights only, and is kept up with music, shouts and laughter till the small hours of the morning. On the last night of the festival the cart is burnt to the great amusement of the children. This festival no longer holds the same significance that it once did to the present day Arakanese, who seem to celebrate it simply for the sake of its pleasant associations.

Tase-hna-ra-thi Ratu. By Ugga Byan.

TEXT—EDITED BY SAN SHWE BU.

မင်းခမောင်းသည်။ အရှေ့ဟင်္သာတိုင်းမှာနေ၍။ သုံးနှစ်စေ့လျှင်။ ရခိုင်ပြည်သို့ပြန်မည်အကြောင်းကို ကျွန်ယုံပညာရှိ ဦးကာဗျာန်စာစီကုမ်း၍။ မင်းခမောင်းကိုတင်ဆက်တော်မူသော တဆယ်နှစ်ရာသီရတုစာ။

ဟေမံကုံပြောင်း။ လတပေါင်းသည်။ ချမ်းဆောင်းနွေကာလ။ တပေါင်းမင်းလွင်။ ရွက်ကျင်တောင်လေထကာ။ ကြွေကျပ်တကာ။ ဖူးရာဇ်နွေဆောင်။ သီကုန်းယောင်သို့။ ခြောက်ရောင်စိန်းခြေဖြာလျက်။ ရှုချေသော်လွန်းစွေတိ။ ပွင့်သီးတကာ။ ပင်တိုင်းမှာသည်။ ချိန်ခါအညီညီသို့။ ကြည့်သခွေလွန်းယောင်စွေ။ တပေါင်းမင်းလွင်။ ရွက်ကျင်ရတုလေကာ။ ကုမ်းသီးဟံနွယ်မပြာ။ ညှာစိန်းရွှေတူ။ ငွေတူပန်းကြက်နားတည်း။ ဒေါနားချတ်တရာ။ ဝယ်ယာကျက်ရုန်း။ ဂမုန်းစံကာ။ ဆပ်သွားဇိသဝါနှင့်။ နော်ဇာသည်ဇော်ကျိပန်း။ ပုန်းညက်ကြန်ဇာ။ ဇလတ်တာသည်။ ခတ္တာပန်းခေါက်ရုန်းနှင့်။ ပြိုပန်းပင်ဝေလူ။ လေပြေသင့်မူ။ တောလှမ်းမွေးနန်းကြူမျှ။ မည်ဇူသည်ပန်းထင်ရှား။ ကွမ်းဘဲဆင်ဝေ။ ငန်းရွှေပန်းချိရားနှင့်။ ကုမ်းသီထားနွယ်အတူ။ ဟေမံကုံပြောင်း။ လတပေါင်းသည်။ ချမ်းဆောင်းအကုန်ယူ၍။ သာန္တိဟူကန်ကော်ပန်း။ ပွင့်မျိုးစုံစွာ။ ဂိမ္မံတပေါင်းဆန်း၍။ စွန်းစွန်းဆွတ်ယူ။ ဆယ်ချောင်းထိပ်မိုး။ ဖုန်းလုံမျိုးကို။ ။ ရှိခိုးတောင်ပန်၏လေ။

ရှိခိုးတောင်းပန်။ ဖုန်းတက်သံကို။ ကျွန်လျှောက်မည်။ ရတုလည်းတပေါင်းကုံ။ အတာအစွန်း။ တန်းခူးဆန်းသော်။ အလွန်မေဝပူယံ။ ခုတုစုံမဇူးသာ။ ဟင်္သာတတိ။ တိုင်းမြေသုခဝံ့က။ နီဖြူကာပန်းမျိုးစုံ။ ဆက်စာရက်ထောက်။ မြင်းကောက်လှူမျိုးစုံက။ ထက်ရတ်ဘုံလုံဝါပြီ။ ပစ္စုန်ကျလျှာ။ သို့ချိန်ခါကို။ လွန်းတော်မမူသိလော။ ရတ်ဝေးသုရတ်မြေ။ တောရကုံဝယ်။ ဘော်စုံကျီးငှက်မြည်က။ စိတ်မတည်လွန်လောင်ပူ။ မောင်လည်းသုခင်။ တာသဖင်ဝယ်။ မေ့ရှင်မေ့နှင့်မပူးဘဲ။ များရတ်ကျူးဝေးမြေခေါင်း။ ရကွမဂ္ဂျိုင်။ ရခိုင်ပြည်ရောက်အောင်တည်း။ တန်းဆောင်သည်ဖျူးဖျူးမြင့်။ မြင့်မှိုရ်ထွင်ခေါင်။ လေးယောက်မောင်သည်။ ဘုန်းခေါင်သိကြားမင်းလည်း။ ချက်ချင်းပို့ဆက်လှာ။ ရကွမုန်ပူး။ မြောက်ဦးရွှေပြည်သာ၌။ များစွာသည်ရွှေလှေပေါင်း။ သိစံနီ။ နန်းတောင်ဆီဝယ်။ ရွှေလှေမင်းဆိတ်ချောင်း၌။ တသောင်းသောင်းပျော်စည်တွင်။ တူစုံရကြည့်ချင်သည်။ ။ သံဂြိုဟ်အခါတည့်လေ။

တန်းခူးကုံပြန်။ တာသံဂြိုဟ်လည်း။ လွင်္လာလတ်သည်။ ခဆန်းမည်ကဆုန်လ။ မောင်ကြောင့်စိတ်ပူ။ မွေးသူတတတနှင့်။ စိမ်းရောင်မြပင်တကာ။ ရွက်သစ်နုဆောင်။ ပင်တိုင်းပြောင်သည်။ ခြောက်ရောင်အလှူဖြာသာ။ ရှုချေသော်လွန်းချေတိ။ ကဆုန်ရေသွန်း။ မိုးစိမ်းပန်းပွင့်လှာဘိက။ စိတ်သတိညှိပူဆာ။ မြိုးသားယဉ်ယူ။ စိတ်ပူရောက်ပြန်လှာက။ ဘုံမွေရာသလွန်ထက်။ ညည့်လေးယံမှာ။ တယံမျှမေမစက်တည်း။ ကြံတွေးဆနေစည်ခါ။ ဝတိန်တရိုး။ ပစ္စုန်ခိုင်းသည်။ ပြီးပြီးရွာပြီလှာ၏။ မေလွန်းခါကိုမောင်မသိ။ ပစ္စုန်သခင်။ ပြီးပြောက်ဆင်သည်။ ကောင်းခင်လျှက်ရောင်ပြီးမျှ။ ရှုကြည့်ဘိချိန်ခါ။ သောတာပန်လောင်း။ ရောင်မောင်းတထောင်ဖြာသာ။ ထွက်လှာသည်နေမင်းနတ်။ အိန္ဒြေခေါ်တွင်။ ဝတိန်ခွင်ဝယ်။ မြင်းဆင်ရထားကတ်၍။ ချိသွားကြတ်အစည်ပြောင်။ မြင့်မှိုရ်လှည့်ပတ်။ ယုဂ္ဂိုန်ထွင်ဝယ်။ ချည်းကတ်သွားလတ်ကျင်မှ။ ဘုန်းရှင်သည်ပစ္စုန်နတ်။ မြပန်းမြပင်။ မြကုန်းဆင်သည်။ နတ်ရှင်မြင်ပြန်လတ်က။ ဆွတ်ဆွတ်ပြန်ရေရှင်။ ဘယ်ကတင်ဆန်း။ ဖန်ကြိန်လှမ်းနှင့်ပင်တည်း။ လက်ကွာတွင်စွဲသံလျက်။ မိုးစိမ်းနတ်ဘုန်ရှင်။ ကမြဆင်သည်။ ပျော်ရွှင်မြင်းနှင့်ထွက်က။ ပြီးပြက်လျှက်ရောင်ဖြာ။ ကဆုန်စမိုးစိမ်း။ ထစ်ကြီးသွေ ကျလှာသည်။ ။ မေတ္တိုလွန်းရာရှိလေ။

နတ်သားပစ်စုံ။ ကမြးခုံသည်။ ကဆုန်လွန်။ ပေါ်ဆန်းပြီနီယုံလ။ သမုတ်ရေရှင်။ တောင်လေတင်၍။ ကောင်းခင်မှိုင်းစီမျှတည်း။ သွန်ဆင်းကျပြန်လှာ။ သောင်းဇမ္ဗူဝယ်။ ရှင်လူမျိုးလေးဖြာတို့။ ထွံသွားရှာကျွန်းတတ်။ လယ်ချောင်းတောတောင်။ လတ်ဆောင်မျိုးချလတ်က။ ဆွတ်ဆွတ်ပူလောင်ဝေ။ ကျေးငှက်သ

ပြင်းမြေဝယ်နင်း၍၊ မိနောက်ပျန်လိုက်သည်တည်း။ ဘာသာသည် တူတကွ၊ တောင်ချင်းချုံ၍၊ ဘော်စုံပျန်ဝဲကြ၏။ ချိန်ကာလနံယုံခါ။ မိုင်းနတ်ကံရှောင်။ ပင်တိုင်းပြောင်သည်။ လျှော်ရောင်တဖြာဖြာနှင့်။ ကြည့်ချေသော်လွန်းဖွေတိ။ မြင့်မြင့်အပံ့။ ချစ်ခြင်းပွန်ကြောင့်။ အကွန်မနေချိတည်း။ စိတ်သတ်မဆယ်နိုင်။ သလ္လံတုံသာ။ စက်မွေရာဝယ်။ ပုဇောင်နေတတ်မည်လည်း။ မွေးမေသည်ရင်သံချာ။ ကယ်ကောင်းယောင်ပင်။ ဤညည့်တွင်ဝယ်။ တုံည့်သလ္လံတွင်း၌။ စုံနှေးချင်းပျော်စည်တွင်။ ညည့်ဝယ်မက်သည်။ အိမ်မက်ယောင်မထင်တည်း။ ကယ်ကောင်းပင်နိုးလတ်ငြာ။ ပတ်လည်မှုတ်ကြီး။ တုပိုးသံသးကြား၍။ ကြက်များသွားသွားတွဲ။ မောင်ကမလာ။ လိတ်ပြာဖူးလှာဟံသို့။ ကြိန်ဆယ်ဖန်တခါခါ။ နံယုံစမိုင်း။ ပြီးပြီးသွံကျလှာသည်။ မကြာစုံပါလေလေ။

ဝိဗ္ဗုကံမှန်း။ ဝါဆိုဆန်းသည်။ မိုင်းကာလဝါသဝံ။ ရွာစီးသွံယိုမစဲ။ အလိုမဲ့ပင်။ မြပန်းဆင်သို့။ ကောင်းခင်ထစ်ရာဇ်ကြီးမျှ။ လွန်းဝှံသစ်ဆာပူးခြောက်ပြစ်လွတ်စင်။ လှမြတ်ရှင်သည်။ မြစင်မောင်ကြောင့်ဝိဗ္ဗု။ လှကြည့်သွေမပြာ။ အရညကင်။ တောရတ်ခွင်ဝယ်။ ရှင်ပင်ထာရ်ပေါင်းများလည်း။ ဝါဝင်လုနီးလတ်ပြီ။ တဖန်နေနတ်မင်း။ မပေါ်လျှင်းသည်။ မိုင်းမင်း ဆောက်ပြတ်သွံ။ တုံဝယ်ယံထက်သိကြာ။ နှုတ်ထံသောသွင်။ ပစ္စုမိုင်းနတ်သားကို။ ဦးထိပ်ဖျားဆယ်ချောင်းတင်။ ဒေဝါမိုင်းမင်း။ ချက်ချင်းစဲစေချင်၏။ ဘုန်းရှင်မလာခါ။ ပစ္စုမိုင်းသည်။ ရွာရိုးထက်ပင်များစွာ။ စီးသွံကျချမ်းဇေးပြန်။ တုံသလ္လံ မှာ။ မောင်မလာ၍။ စက်ရာတဝက်ကဲ့စုံ။ ချစ်ဝှံသည်လွှဲလောင်သံ။ ပြစ်စက်မျက်ရေ။ မဆယ်တရွံ့နှင့်။ လိုလည်းစီမည်။ စည်ပုတ်သံဝါ။ ဘောမှုတ်ကာသည်။ ဗုပ္ပာကြီးရိုက်ပြန်၏။ လွန်းဝှံသည်မစက်ပဲ။ တယောက်မောင်ကြောင့်။ သခေါင်လုနီးလုနီးလွှဲစုံ။ ကြက်လည်းသွားသွားတွဲ။ တုပိုးလင်းခွင်။ ကြည်းနင်းမောင်းခတ်သံနှင့်။ ဥညောတွဲ ဖိုးခေါင်ကျူး။ မောင်ကြောင့်တစ္ဆေ။ မွေးသုမအိပ်ဖူးတည်း။ လွန်မှုတခါခါ။ သံဝါဆမ်းထူး။ ခေါ်ပျန်ပျူး၍။ ကျီးငှက်မြူးတွဲလှာသည်။ ဝါဆိုလခါတည်းလေ။

ဝါဆိုကံမှန်း။ ဝါခေါင်ဆန်း၍။ မိုင်းပန်းလျှိုင်း။ ကျူးမြေအိုင်မိုင်းနဂါး။ ပစ္စုသခင်။ မြင့်မြင့်ရှင်သည်။ ထက်ခွင်မိုင်းသိကြားလည်း။ နှိုးဆော်ငြားဖန်ဆင်းပြီ။ ညယံမကင်။ ရွာထံပြင်းသည်။ မိုင်းမင်းဆယ်မြောင်းဝှံမျှ။ တရံမျှနေမပူ။ ရှစ်ဖြာယိုးထုတ်။ မြစ်သမုတ်က။ တင်ပေတောင်လေယူ၍။ ရှစ်သောင်းဟူလေးထောင်ခြားမြင်းမိုရ်အရံ။ နတ်တို့ဖန်သည်။ ယုဂ္ဂါနတောင်ထိပ်ဖျား၌။ မနားမနေလို။ လျှော်ဝါပြေးသန်း။ ရှစ်ရတ်ထွန်းသည်။ မိုင်းပန်းစိန်းစိန်းညိုမျှ။ အာကာကိုစိုးပိုင်ချုပ်။ မိုင်းရိုက်ညိုသည်။ ရှစ်မျက်နှာလှမ်းအရံ၍။ ဆော်တီးမှုတ်ထစ်ကြီးမြေ။ သူဇာလင်ရင်။ သိကြားမင်းသည်။ ဖန်ဆင်းစီရင်သည်လော။ မေလွန်းသည်အခါကို။ ယခုမလာ။ မိုင်းဒေဝါသည်။ ထက်မှာဘုန်းရိုက်ခိုသာ။ မကြည်ညိုဝေယံရှင်။ အိန္ဒာသက္က။ ပူရိန္ဒကို။ ဆယ်ချောင်းဦးထိပ်တင်၍။ ခလျာက်ကျင်လေသောခါ။ ပစ္စုကြီး၍။ စမိုင်းစောင်မရွာတည်း။ ခုနှစ်သာစိတ်ဝမ်းနူး။ ရိုက်ရင်ချီဝဲ။ ငွေဝှံသံသည်။ ရှေ့နည်းထက်ပင်ထူစုံ။ စုံမပူးမြင့်တာရှေ့။ ဝါခေါင်မိုင်းမင်း။ အချမ်းသွင်းလတ်မည်ကို။ ဘုန်းရှင်တဆယ်လည်းလေ။

ဝါခေါင်ကံလျှင်။ တော်သလင်းလည်း။ ထွန်းဝင်းလှာ။ မိုင်းကြွင်းရွာဘာချေမှု။ တောင်မြင့်ခေါင်ခေါင်။ ခဖောင်ဖောင်သည်။ ယာတောင်လုတ်သောသူတို့။ ကြည့်ချေမှုပျော်ဖွေတိ။ ကျေးငှက်နှင့်သည်။ ယာစင်တောင်တိုင်းရှိစုံ။ စိတ်သတ်လွန်းဖွေပင်။ ကောက်သီးဝင်းဝင်း။ တော်သလင်းလည်း။ လွန်းတင်းဖို့သာမြင်စုံ။ ကိုင်းတခွင်လယ်လုတ်သာ။ အသီးကောက်ပင်။ မွန်းဖျင်သားမယားနှင့်။ ကျီးငှက်များမောင်နှံစုံဦးဒေါင်းတွဲကျော်။ သာလိကာသည်။ လင်းပြာဆွတ်မျှကြူလျက်။ ငှက်ဝါမူတဌာန။ တရင်းဆော်သည်။ လျှင်စွာရောက်ဖျာလားဟု။ ကျူးမြည်ငြားလူသဏ္ဌာန်။ ပန်းရက်ယူကမ်း။ တရမ်းရမ်းသည်။ ပိတ်ဖမ်းမျှမကျန်တည်း။ ဝဲပျန်သည်တသောင်းသောင်း။ ခပ်သိမ်းရကုန်။ ကမြူးခုံသည်။ ဖေတုံကျီးငှက်ပေါင်းတို့။ ကြည့်မညောင်းစိတ်ဆာဝီ။ လွန်းသစ်လွန်းဟောင်း။ လွန်းပေါင်းမိုင်းနယ်စီမျှ။ မိုင်းရာသီတော်သလင်း။ နှစ်ပါးစုံလို။ ဘုံညိုသလ္လံတွင်း၌။ တကိုယ်ချင်းဆွဲရိုက်ပြန်။ ကိုယ်သာကျွဲကြုံသက်တူမျှသည်။ ဇောတမောင်လွန်ကြင်ကို။ ဆွဲလိုင်တွင်မြဲနေငြာ။ နှစ်ပါးစုံဘော်။ နတ်တုံကိုမမျှတည်း။ လွန်ဆယ်ဆတခါခါ။ တော်သလင်းသည်။ လျှင်ပြင်းခုကြီလှာသည်။ မေကဆာစီ၏လေ။

သူတော်မိတ်မှတ်။လဝါကျွတ်သည်။ဆန်းလတ်ခါ။လုရွာပွဲသဘင်။ဆီမီးတန်းဆောင်။ပန်းထောင်ထီးကြီးပျင်၍။သင်ပုန်းတင်တန်းပြက်ခတ်။အဋ္ဌသီနှင့်၊ ပညာသီကို။အညီစောင့်သုမ်းမှတ်၍။ဒါနဝတ်စွန့်ကြလူးမင်းပွဲသဘင်။မြို့ပြင်တချို့လူက။သီတာဟူသောကံပြုန်းပြုန်း။ကောင်းမှုလက်ဆောင်။ထမင်းထောင်ကိုဝန်။၍။အံ့ဇေယျအသံချို။လက်ခုတ်ဖြောက်ဖြောက်။ခြင်းကောက်သံပြိုင်ဆို၍။အလိုလိုသောသောရာ။ဝါကျွတ်သဘင်။ပျော်မှုဆင်သည်။လူရှင်အစုစုနှင့်။ယစ်ဝမှုအစကော။တချို့ကိုလည်း။တချို့ဆဲသည်။တချို့ရို့ကရာန်ခိုက်ရှာ၍။တချို့သာပြစ်တင်ကုန်းပိန်ပေါင်ခရာ။စည်ဒုပ္ပန္နံ။ပတ်သာမြို့လုမ်းချုံ့။ကခြံမုပတ္တလား။စောင်းညှင်းပြီသာ။တရိယာသည်။လုရွာသဘင်များနှင့်။တသောသောထမင်းထောင်။လှိုင်ကူထွတ်ထား။ဘုရားပါးရောက်အောင်တည်း။ကြီးဆောင်သည်အစုစု။သာရကြိကြိ။နေမည်သည်။အသံတရုရနှင့်။ရှင်ပျော်မှုအဆွယ်သွယ်။ရာသီလည်းလွတ်။ဝါလည်းကျွတ်သည်။နှင်းလည်းတဝေဝေနှင့်။ဝဲရတ်မြေဟောန္တာ။လေညှင်းလာခါ။မေလွန်းရာကို။မောင်တော်မသိသာ၍။ဣန္ဒြေကြောရရှိသည်။စုံရကြောင်းကို။ခွင့်တောင်းရှောက်တင်ပေသည်။။မကြာရောက်လှာသို့လေ။

တန်းဆောင်ပုန်းလ။ဟောန္တာသည်။ချမ်းစပေါ်။လုရွာပွဲသဘင်။သိကြားပျော်ရာ။ဝတ်သံဝယ်။စူဠာမုနိရှင်ကို။ဗူးမြော်ကျင်ဆုယူမြောက်။အတောင်ခြောက်ဆယ်။မြင့်ဗူးသွယ်သည်။တန်းဆောင်ပုန်းတိုင်ဆောက်၍။အောက်ကတက်ကြီးဝင်။ပြောင်ပြောင်ညိုသည်။ဆီမီးပွဲသဘင်ကို။တူစုံပင်ညိုရကြောင်း။ရှစ်စရွတ်သည်။မွေမာတ်ရှင်တော်ပေါင်းကို။ဆုတောင်းမည်လျှောက်ပြန်။တုဆယ်နှစ်လ။ကြန်းရေချသော်။တရက်မျှမကွဲတည်း။အမှံသည်တနှစ်တွက်။ရက်ကိုချင့်သော်။သုံးရာခြောက်ဆယ်စင်တည်း။တုဆယ်နှစ်လပတ်ပတ်လေ။ဘယ်နတ်ဖန်၍။စုံပြန်ပရမည်လည်း။မေလွန်းသည်အခါကို။တန်းဆောင်ပုန်းလ။မြေမြောက်လေချီနှင့်။နှင်းစိုစိုချမ်းလတ်ငြား။မေချည်းချုံ့သော်။မလိုအိုနတ်များတို့။ပူးရတခါခါ။တန်းစသွယ်ဆောင်။လွန်းလေမှောင်သော်။မောင်ကြောင့်မကြာတာတည်း။နေထိုင်သော်မပျော်ပိုက်။ထမင်းရေစာ။မဝင်ပါသည်။ပူဆာသွေးလေဖြစ်၍။တူဖက်ရာဇ်ဆွဲလိုင်တွင်။ရာသက်နှံကို။တရက်မျှမခွဲခြင်သည်။။ရာသက်ရှင်ကိုတည်းလေ။

သဇင်ပေါ်စာနတ်တော်လဝယ်။ချမ်းရမည်။လွန်မတည်မိတ်များယ။မယ်ချည်းလွန်းတုံ။ဆယ်ထပ်ချုံသော်။မလိုသည်ကာလကို။တူနှစ်ပါးစုံရစေ။ဆယ်ချောင်းထိပ်တင်။ဝယ်ယံရှင်ကို။မောင်ပင်ရှောက်တင်လေလော။နှင်းနယ်သာပင်ပန်းမော။ခြောက်ထပ်နတ်ရွာ။တုသီတာမှာ။ဒေဝါနတ်သိကြားလည်း။မသနားမကြင်မှု။ချမ်းဝှံတိုးသည်။နှစ်မျိုးနှင့်ပင်မတူတည်း။ခုတယ်သူနှစ်ထည်သည်။ရိုးခြင်ထဲတွင်။အလွန်ပြင်း၍။ချမ်းခြင်းဇောင်ဆိုးသည်တည်း။မြေးဆောက်တည်မရအောင်။စက်ဘုံထဲဝယ်။ရေခဲရေကြေဆောင်သို့။တမျက်တောင်မရှက်ချင်။စက်ခမ်းမွေရာ။ညောင်ဇောင်သာမှာ။မျှာဘာစီးပြစ်တွင်၍။ကိရိယာတောင်မြင်းမိုရ်။အထွတ်တင်သည်။သခင်နတ်မင်းကိုလည်း။ကြိန်များဖန်လျှောက်တောင်းဆို။ချမ်းတက်ချမ်းမျိုး။အမှံတိုးသည်။ချမ်းဝှံ။အလွန်သဲခဲ။မေချည်းမနေကြေ။ရှင်နတ်များတို့။ကိုယ်ချင်းမဆာသည်လော။ဇောင်ချမ်းသည်အခါကို။လိုင်ထက်လက်တင်။မေ့သက်ရှင်နှင့်။တူပင်ပျော်ရလို၏။စီးပြစ်သွေတခါခါ။ဆယ်ဖြာလက်ကို။ပန်းပွင့်ဟံပမာသို့။ပေါင်း၍သာဗျာဓိမှတ်။ထက်အာကာမှာ။စူဠာမုနိမာတ်နှင့်။ဤသောင်းရက်ဇမ္ဗူထွင်။ကိုယ်ဇာတော်သည်။မဟာမုနိရှင်ကို။တိုင်လျှောက်ကျင်ဆုတောင်းခါ။ချမ်းဝှံလွန်သက်သာသည်ပြာသိုလ်ဆန်းလှာဖို့လေ။

နတ်တော်ကိုလို့ပြာသိုလ်လည်းဝှံနဲ့။ပြောင်ပြောင့်ထွန်း၍။ဆန်းလတ်ပေ။ရှောင်မတည်အချမ်းပြင်း။ခုနှစ်ဖြာလိုလ်။ဤဆောင်းကိုလည်း။မလိုချမ်းဝှံပြင်း၍။ဆောင်းချင်းချင်းနှင့်မတူ။မြောက်လေဖျူးရင်း။အချမ်းသွင်းသော်။ဆီနှင်းတဝေဝေနှင့်။ရှောင်အဟံချမ်းဝှံ။သဲ။တင်းထိန်ကာသနဲ့။ဆူးရွှံဝန်းသည်။ရွှေနန်းသလွယ်ထွံ။စုံလည်ရွတ်ဆက်ကာ။ခြောက်ပြစ်လွတ်သည်။မိသီးနတ်ကြယ်ပမာသို့။လှဆင်းဝါနတ်ရှင်ရည်။ချစ်ဖွယ်တိသာ။မချီအောက်မိသည်တည်း။လွန်းမတည်နိုင်လတ်ဘိ။ချမ်းမျိုးဆင်လှာ။လိုင်မှာဆွဲခါလိုကို။မေမျက်စိနားတွင်ပင်။လှသွယ်ဆိုင်းကို။လာနှိုင်းနှိုင်းငြားထင်ခဲ။ခြင်သေလျှင်နှားဆင်မြင်။မုက္ခမ္မာစွာ။ခံတွင်းမှာသည်။လေးဖြာပျံမှတ်ဝက။စီးသွံကုသုန်းပတ်လည်။တဆယ်နှစ်ဖြာ။ဟောန္တာသည်။အချာနဝဒါတ်

ရေသို့။ ငါးသွယ်တောင်မြင်းမှိုရ်။ ယုဂ္ဂါန်လည်းခေါ်။ သုရိယာသည်။ ရောင်ဝါပင်မထွန်းလိုတည်း။ ထစ်ကြီး
သွံကျလာ။ ဟိလက်နု။ မည်ရထိုကျောက်ဖျာ၌။ တရိစ္ဆာနတောင်တွင်ဖျူး။ အာကာသမည်။ အံ့မြူးဖွယ်သည်။
နဒီယပြင်ဖြူက။ ရေဟံထိုးထက်အာကာ။ ဂစ္ဆဘနဒီ။ မြောက်ဆီဟေဝန္တာက။ သွံကျလာသည်စုံလီပြင်း။
စိန်စိန်ချမ်းခါ။ မွေရာသလွံ တွင်းဝေ။ လျင်ပြင်းသည်စုံလိုဝံ။ လှမျိုးရာသက်မန်သည်။ ကြင်ရိုးကြင်ပါလေ
လေ။

ရာသီကုံလွဲ။ တပိုးထွေးသည်။ လွန်းဖွေပင်။ ပျော်ရွှင်လှရက်မြေ။ ရထားသဘင်။ နှစ်စည်ငင်သည်။ သောင်း
ခွင်၌လှပြည်ထက်။ ရွှင်ပျော်ဖွေလူတို့၌။ ရာဇဌာနေ။ မင်းနေပြည်ဝယ်။ ထိုထိုနေပုတ်၌။ ကျူးသံရိုက်ထိန်ထိန်
ဆူ။ သမုတ္တရာ။ ယမုန္တာသည်။ သီဒါချောင်းခြားတူခဲ့။ များရှင်လှပျော်သောင်းလဲ။ ပိန်ပေါင်းခရာ။ စည်ဒုပ္ပါ
သည်။ ပတ်သာမြို့လုံးချိုမျှ။ ဟာငင်ကုံဆွဲသာဆွဲ။ လက်လှအညီ။ ကိုယ်စီရွံ့ကိုတွဲ၍။ တချို့လည်းရထားပေါင်း။
ပါးဝယ်မျှော်၍။ ဟာမေမောင်ညီယောက်ဖ။ ကိုယ်ဘက်ဘော်ရှိ။ အစ်ကိုယ်ညီသည်။ ရွံ့ကိုမြိုကစီလော။
လလည်းဝင်းဝင်းပြောင်။ သံခေါင်ညည့်ကြီး။ ရင်ဖတ်တီး၍။ ကြက်ကြီးတွဲလတ်ယောင်တည်း။ တမျက်
တောင်မရှက်ချင်။ ဆုမ်းရေဆုမ်းရေ။ လာမည်ညည့်ကို။ တင့်နည်းရာရာဆင်၍။ တချို့လျှင်ရွှင်မြူးစံ။ ရာသီတုံ
၍။ နွေဦးတိုင်လတ်ပြီ။ သော်။ ရှစ်သောင်းဟံလေးတောင်ခြား။ မြင်းရှိလိအဟံ။ ခုနှစ်တံသည်။ ယုဂ္ဂါန်တောင်
ထိပ်ဖျားက။ စက်ရထားနေပိမှာန်။ ဟေမန်ချမ်းဆောင်။ အလှည့်ပြောင်း၍။ တပေါင်းဆန်းမည်ကြီးခဲ့။ ကမြီး
စံကျီ ငှက်ပေါင်း။ တောင်ချင်းရှက်ချို။ နေငွေ လှသည်။ ရက်မြိုင်ချောင်းတော၌။ တသောင်းသောင်းဝဲကာပုံ။
ညာစိန်ဆတ်သွာ။ ပန်းစံကာသည်။ ကြက်နားဒန်းသလွံတည်း။ မညှိုးဟံချတ်တရာ။ ဝေရာကြက်ရမ်း။ သီ
မြော်ကမ်းသည်။ ဂမုန်းဇီသဝါနှင့်။ ရွှေတူသာဇော်ကျိပ်နံ။ မြက်လေးကြန့်ဇာ။ စလတ္တာသည်။ ညီညာပင်
လမ်းပွန်းမျှ။ ကြိုင်ဇေးပျန်ပင်တကာ။ ရက်တောခွင်။ မွန်းရင်ပွင့်မုံလာသည်။ တပေါင်းဆန်းလွှာ၏လေ။

THE STRANGE MURDER OF KING THIRI-THUDHAMMA.*

BY M. S. COLLIS.

Brother Manrique gave us two glimpses of Thiri-thudhamma, the dignified figure at the window of the audience-hall at the Paragri, and the fond father joking with his children in the palace gardens of Mrauk-U, while the elephants squirted the crowd with water from the royal tank. But the native chroniclers relate the full history of his reign and the strange manner of his death.

First they describe him as a public figure,—lord paramount of the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal. His kingdom was the coast strip from the mouth of the Ganges to the river Salween, areas now known as Chittagong, Akyab, Kyaukpyu, Sandoway, Syriam and Amherst, a territory one thousand miles long, with an average depth of fifty miles, essentially a maritime kingdom. His capital at Mrauk-U was the central pivot of the strip, the heart of the paddy lands, a position intricate with its curling creeks, protected by steep bluffs and huge stone walls of circumvallation, the constantly improved strong place of his dynasty, now two hundred years old. The problem of his foreign relations can be summarized as the Great Mogul pressing him on the North, the Burmese King of Pegu on his south-eastern frontier, and the sea-power of the Portuguese, with their treaty-ports in Chittagong and their swords at the disposal of the king who gave them the most valuable trade concessions.

The palm leaf MSS describe how Thiri-thudhamma conducted himself in these given circumstances and in the face of these problems.

His first difficulty was with Chittagong and his northern frontier. That province was under an Arakanese governor and for administrative purposes was divided into twelve states under local rajahs, who had to pay tribute to Thiri-thudhamma through his representative, the Governor. In 1625, three years after the accession, these States rebelled, probably at the instigation of the Mogul, whose desire had long been to add Chittagong to his territories. Thiri-thudhamma acted with energy. He marched his army overland to meet the rebels. His fleet coasted up and joined him. Both army and fleet were stiffened by foreign mercenaries. The galleys were rowed by prisoners of war; the guns were served by Portuguese; his officers were drawn from ten nationalities. Moreover the Portuguese forces at the treaty ports of Chittagong were under promise to assist him. With this force he crushed the rebellion, set back the plans of the Great Mogul and secured the northern areas of his kingdom,

* This account is derived from notes supplied to me by Mr. San Shwe Pu, with his usual single-mindedness. He consulted the following palm-leaf MSS. in his possession,—the Mahazawin by Do We, the Dinniyawaddi Aredawpon and the Nga Lat Rone Razawin.

binding them truly to him as their acknowledged master. That Thiri-thudhamma held Chittagong under no nominal rule is proved by the fact that even the Portuguese, fearing for the safety of their treaty-ports if they played false, served him faithfully. Moreover Brother Manrique's journey to Mrauk-U in 1630 is sure evidence that his compatriots looked on Thiri-thudhamma as more dangerous to them than the Great Mogul.

The King adopted an equally prompt and successful attitude towards his southern territories.*

Internally he continued the vigorous rule of his predecessors. He strengthened the defences of Mrauk-U, mounting cannon on the walls under advice from his Portuguese officers. His administration kept the peace, as Manrique noted in his description of the local governors' police, the safety of the ways and the cheapness of provisions.

I have adduced these dull facts of history so as the better to throw into relief the strange fate that befell the King. Here was a monarch whose army had given battle in Chittagong and whose navy had sacked Moulmein, a man known the whole length of the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal as a ruler of importance, whom European eyes had looked upon, had seen at play with his children, laughing at their toys, here in short was a monarch who might have lived anywhere, at any time, minding his city, upholding his power, glorifying the religion. But this element of the ordinary in his public life and character did not preserve him from an extraordinary fate. He lived in a country washed by the common sea, where eggs sold for a hundred to the rupee and where the like sum would purchase a cow, an altogether familiar country, importing silk and munitions and velvet, and exporting rice and cotton fabrics. But there was something strange and fantastic at work within that country.

Thiri-thudhamma had two ministers, Lat Rone and Kuthala. The former was his chief adviser, the son of his father's minister, a man whose family had long been associated with the royal house of Mrauk-U in the capacity of faithful and weighty councillors. The latter, who held one of the local governorships and was in rank a general, belonged to the upper aristocracy and traced his descent from Thazada, King of Arakan in 1525. Both these men had been closely connected with Thiri-thudhamma in his campaigns and in his orderly administration. The

* Extent of the Kingdom of Arakan. The statement in the text is a general one and indicates the maximum extent of the Kingdom. The facts relating to the southern areas are as follows. Thiri-thudhamma's grandfather, Rāzagri, had combined with the Burmese King of Ava and had taken Pegu. Rāzagri's share of the spoil was Syriam and Moulmein. In Syriam he placed his slave, the Portuguese nobleman de Britto, as Governor. The latter offended the Burmese, and the King of Ava (and now Pegu) Mahā-dhamma-rāza defeated and impaled him. The Syriam-Amherst area then lapsed to the Burmese. During the reign of Mahā-dhamma-rāza's two successors, the Burmese again lost their hold in these localities and it was at this point that Thiri-thudhamma was able to revive his grandfather's pretensions, send his fleet, sack Moulmein and declare that his kingdom reached to the Salween.

other personage in the drama about to be unfolded was Nat Shin Mè, the Chief Queen, one of those redoubtable women of whom history offer several examples.

Kuthala, as an intimate adviser of the King, had easy access to the palace at all hours. In his coming and going he constantly met Nat Shin Mè, for she was not a woman to confine herself closely to her own apartments. She enjoyed the King's full confidence and it must be supposed that she sat in the council chamber and made her will felt among the courtiers and high officials. As the King's reign entered its fifteenth year, Kuthala, who had long entertained a secret admiration for the Chief Queen, succeeded in rousing her interest. Soon they were involved in a mutual passion. She became his mistress; but for a character like hers, such was insufficient. Women of that mould desire power and glory for their lovers and death for those they have tricked. Kuthala, as already stated, was originally of the blood royal and Nat Shin Mè urged him to seize the throne. Rebellion and assassination, however, were not likely to be successful, for the minister, Lat Rone, kept an incorruptible watch. Hence she induced her lover to adopt another and surer method, one difficult to detect, hard to combat and as fatal as the dagger.

Kuthala was master of a science called Ya-da-yā. This science, now forgotten or remembered only in some of its outward manifestations, was the application of the principles of astrology to black magic. It had long been practiced by its initiates at the Court of Mrauk-U, but was used chiefly as a defensive weapon. Take for instance the Ya-da-yā bell, which still hangs for every traveller to see in the shrine at Mahāmuni. On that bell are written certain instructions. They indicate in a general manner that if the bell was struck under given circumstances of time, place and direction, results would occur disconcerting to those against whom the sound was directed. The full key however, is not on the bell. Only a person initiated into the science of Ya-da-yā would know where and at what time and at what angle to strike it. But given the right measurements of time and space, the sound was devastating.

Again, there lies now outside one of the gates of ruined Mrauk-U a great broken slab. On it are inscribed certain measurements and calculations.

As I say, the key of the science is lost, but there is no doubt that this stone was regarded as having a defensive value. One can only vaguely surmise the argued method of its operation. According to astrology, the cosmos is a mathematical formula in motion; each part, every permutation, all changes or actions are mathematically related and are determined by the composition of the original formula in its innumerable interactions. An invading army advancing towards the north gate of Mrauk-U would be an expression in the world of form of higher

mathematics. The most root way of dealing with the invasion, therefore, would be by the interposition of a neutralizing equation. If the enemy was equal to $+x$, the interposition of $-x$ would cause him to disappear. Here the science of Ya-da-yā came in. It indicated what was the neutralizing equation, under what circumstances of time and orientation it could be placed in position and how it could be, so to speak, let off against the advancing foe. This science sounds abstruse. People nowadays may declare it an illusion. But the historian is concerned with the important truths or illusions of the period he describes, and there is no doubt that the Government of Mrauk-U studied, practised and believed in Ya-da-yā.

As the palm-leaves relate, Kuthala was master of this science, and Nat Shin Mè persuaded him to employ it against the King. It was very safe, very sure and very secret, she argued, and when the obstacle was removed, Kuthala could ascend the throne without odium. There would be no proof, nothing more than a suspicion.

It must be remembered that the Mrauk-U dynasty was now of two hundred years standing and was more firmly set than any dynasty which has ruled in Burma, for the direct line had been unbroken from its foundation. Moreover, the kings of the last fifty years had been the most brilliant, so that the family was now at the height of its reputation. To raise hands against the master of such a state was no light matter. But the King was mild, easy going and unsuspecting, a fit subject for an experiment in Ya-da-yā.

The Mss. describe in detail the procedure followed by Kuthala. He began work by making a calculation showing the astrological relationship between his horoscope and the King's. That gave him the datum for all his future operations. As has been explained, Ya-da-yā proceeds from an astrological basis and is a system of magic. The horoscopic comparison showed Kuthala in what, astrologically speaking, he fell short of the King in power. Ya-da-yā supplied the means of correcting the adverse measurements in his favour. He accordingly inscribed on certain stone squares the calculation which was necessary to alter his chart into one superior to the King's, *i.e.*, to change the measurements by which he was now controlled into other figures, which would give him the mastery over the cyphers which were the astrological expression of Thiri-thudhamma. Taking the inscribed squares, he buried them at certain angles round the palace. Ya-da-yā determined the angles and the method by which the calculations on the slabs were caused to react against the King. In this way Thiri-thudhamma was invested in a mathematical net. His measurements were tampered with; the chart, which made him what he was, the King of a country, began to change, until it became possible to calculate at what point of time he would cease to exist at that place.

It appears from the palm-leaves that Kuthala, in order to assist the operation of the squares or possibly in connection with it, composed certain verses, written in such a rhythm and composed of such an

arrangement of letters, each of which represented a number, that when uttered at a calculated time, place and angle, they set up vibrations assistant to the calculations on the squares. There exists to this day one of these poems called Nga-swe. On the face of it, the meaning is obscure, but we know that Kuthala engaged troops of boys to sing it outside the palace and at certain places in the neighbourhood. There was, therefore, some publicity in this affair of Ya-da-yā, not sufficient to rouse the suspicions of anyone ignorant of the science, but enough to cause an initiate to perceive what was going forward. The King's other minister, Lat Rone, was such an adept, and as soon as he heard the boys singing the Nga-swe incantation, he hurried to his master. Long aware of Kuthala's intrigue with the Chief Queen, he deemed it his duty now to disclose the whole plot. "Owing to the combined influence of Yadayā and incantatory poems," he said to Thiri-thudhamma, "your natal measurements are being deflected to the benefit of Kuthala's. He has robbed you of your wife; it is his intention to rob you also of your throne. Unless you authorize me to take counter measures in Ya-da-yā and block the influences now bearing on you, instead of the long life you might expect from your chart, you will be dead in seven months."

The King, however, was not alarmed by this startling information. It seemed to him impossible that Kuthala, his intimate adviser, could harbour such designs. Nor could he suspect his Chief Queen, Nat Shin Mè. But Lat Rone pressed the matter with such earnestness, that at last he decided to check the minister's statement by taking omens. If he was in danger of his life, if he was involved in so strange a mesh, the situation would inevitably be reflected on the mirror into which he proposed to gaze. Omens were consulted in various ways in Arakan; the method adopted by the King was called 'hearing *taran*.' According to the theory of *taran*, if an event is on the way, its reverberation will first reach the minds of mediums. Such persons will be aware of it before its arrival into the upper consciousness and they will inadvertently say something which will indicate its existence and nature. The method of hearing *taran* was, therefore, to send a reliable person to stroll in the streets and listen to the casual remarks made by the kind of people who might be mediums. Experience had shown that the most likely were children, lunatics and actors. The Arakanese of to-day still believe in this science, though none are now found competent to practise it.

An experienced man was accordingly sent to wander through the city. On his return he reported that he had heard three significant remarks. The first was 'King Hari has made mistakes uselessly. Hari will die and the country will go to pieces!': the second—'An unworthy slave, who seeks sovereign power, will surely become King in seven months': the third—'If an iguana is changed into a crocodile, creeks and rivers cannot bear it; if a slave becomes a strong and influential man, the country cannot prosper'. When Lat Rone received this report, he saw that matters were even worse than he had supposed. Not only

was the King's death certain, but the ruin of the kingdom was also foretold. He laid the *tarans* and his explanation before Thiri-thudhamma. "You are the King Hari spoken of," said he. "You were born in a palace at the foot of mount Hari and in your infancy you were given that name. You are doomed to die in seven months. The slave is Kuthala. His reign will end your dynasty and herald the dissolution of the kingdom of Arakan. The people of this country must pass through an agony as of burning fire."

But in spite of this grave warning, the King was not entirely convinced. It is stated by the chroniclers that he sent for Nat Shin Mè and confronted her with what he had heard. She had an easy task in explaining it away. After all, he had nothing definite against her and Kuthala. The latter was reputed to have buried a few stone squares; boys were said to have sung songs; an idiot or a child had uttered some vague words. The Chief Queen quickly reassured him. She laughed away his fears. Aided by her beauty and the love he bore her, she soon banished his suspicions, exerting herself to please, so that in a short while he too laughed at Lat Rone and his forebodings.

When that minister saw that the Chief Queen's influence was paramount, and that her lover, Kuthala, remained in office, he could no longer face the evils of the future. He had no desire to be involved in the crash of a dynasty. Moreover when the King's murder was consummated, what would be his chance of escape? Even were he spared, could he serve the usurper? Immediate retirement was his only course, a retirement which would take him out of the world of living men, beyond the grasp of the new king, into a region, where the horrible echoes of a political catastrophe could not disturb him, where he could bathe his harassed mind in the calms of contemplation. He decided to assume the yellow robe and retire into a monastery.

In a last strange interview he sought the King's leave. His science told him that his master's fate was certain and close. But as he looked at the mild face, that mildness which Brother Manrique had noted as Thiri-thudhamma's chief characteristic, he knew that the King could never be roused to save himself by striking at the queen he loved and the friend he trusted. Without the royal support, Lot Rone could do nothing. Therefore with sorrowful respect, he bade his master farewell as one takes leave of the dying, and donning the robe, turned his mind inward to the realities of his metaphysic. The few months passed; those malign influences which Kuthala had set in motion began to work out; the king fell ill and, as had been calculated, died in the seventh month. He left one son by Nat Shin Mè, a young boy and his legal successor. Kuthala and the Queen did not feel strong enough openly to brush the prince aside and seize the throne. The Arakanese would never have accepted them while a direct heir to the great Mrauk-U line was alive. But their difficulty was of short duration. The lad caught small-pox and it is alleged that his mother, Nat Shin Mè, deliberately made him drink medicines that increased his illness. On the twenty eighth day of his reign he died.

Nat Shin Mè then sent out a summons to the members of the Council. They assembled in the audience-chamber at the palace. When all had sat down, it was noticed that the doors and windows of the hall were shut and bolted. This ominous sign had one meaning; they were to vote the way the Queen instructed them or they would never leave the chamber. It was Nat Shin Mè's desire that Kuthala should ascend the throne by vote of the Council. Like many political adventurers before and since, she saw the necessity of giving a legal colour to what was really a *coup d'état*. Without the vote of the Council it was doubtful whether Kuthala would get the support of the army and the officials. Hence her object in summoning the members, hence the strong hint she gave them by closing the doors, that she intended the voting to follow her ideas. Addressing the gathering, she reminded them that Thiri-thudhamma was dead; his son was dead; the great dynasty of the Kings of Mrauk-U was without an heir; it was necessary that some one, versed in affairs of state, known to the nation, should succeed or anarchy would supervene; Lat Rone had retired from the world; there remained no one but Kuthala; she suggested Kuthala; was he not descended from King Thazada? The members, being painfully aware of the closed doors, unanimously elected Kuthala as King of Arakan.

Tradition relates that Nat Shin Mè, not wholly satisfied with this packed vote, sought the support of the Church, for a few mornings later she went to visit the Shittaung Hpongyi, the acknowledged doyen of the Buddhist priesthood of Mrauk-U. The old monk was walking in the cool air, telling his beads. "You agree that the Council was wise in choosing Kuthala?" She asked,

But the Rahan was not inclined to keep up the farce. He replied bluntly that it was not the Council's choice, but her own. At that, uncontrollably irritated, she struck her thigh and uttered an angry retort. The story goes that the mark of her fingers remained on her skin till, frightened by a stigma which did not yield to treatment, she apologised and was cured.

So Kuthala succeeded to the throne of Mrauk-U, taking the title of Narapati. As soon as he was secure, his first act was to banish Nat Shin Mè. She was expelled from her apartments and given a house in the city outside the triple wall of the palace-citadel. He felt there could be no safety as long as she was his partner. If she had killed her husband, the King, if she had not shrunk even from hastening the death of her only son, was there any guarantee that he would escape? The violence of her love might change into as violent a hate. There would be no ease and freedom till the walls of his palace and the swords of his guard stood between him and her.

Narapati's next act was to take his own bearings astrologically. His natal chart was carefully progressed and calculated. The figures left no room for doubt that he would die in seven years after a reign of that length. As he had killed the late King by Ya-da-yā, so now he

proposed to prolong his own life by the same means. He took measurements, worked out the angle, and built two pagodas close to the palace. (These two buildings, the Thet-daw-she and the Thet-daw-saung, may still be seen among the ruins of Mrauk-U, their walls covered with Ya-da-yā cyphers.) Specialists assured him that his calculations were correct and that the arrangement of the pagodas was such as to warp the operation of his original position in accordance with his wish. But there was an error somewhere. Perhaps in the course of tampering with Thiri-thudhamma's chart, elements had been introduced into his own which made the present problem insoluble. Suffice it to say that he failed to prolong his life and died in seven years, as indicated by his measurements.

The murder of Thiri-thudhamma was a capital event in the history of Arakan. It profoundly shocked contemporary opinion, so much so that many persons, it is said, rather than acknowledge Narapati as their King, left the country. But not only was Narapati disliked as a usurper who had gained the throne by ill means; it was discovered that he was of slave origin. Though descended on the male side from Thazada, his female ancestor had been only a palace concubine and serf. So was exactly fulfilled the *taran*—'an unworthy slave will become King.'

The shock to public opinion caused by these events had, however, more than a contemporary effect. As has been stated, Thiri-thudhamma was the direct descendant of the King who had founded the Mrauk-U dynasty two hundred years before. His removal was a blow to the principle of authority in Arakan, from which the kingdom never recovered. For two hundred years the rulers of Mrauk-U had wielded an unquestioned power. Their Government had been strong because it had received the support of the people, high and low. But now the old family was gone; the new did not succeed in winning the same uncritical allegiance; men questioned its right to rule; there was no unassailable principle of authority. As a result the years 1638 to 1784 were unhappy with rebellions, assassinations, usurpations, the central government becoming weaker, falling a prey to adventurers, unable to give the people the good peace of the old days. In 1784 came the final catastrophe. The Burmese invaded Arakan, sacked the capital and remained in occupation of the country. Their rule was one of robbery and massacre. Great numbers of the Arakanese fled into exile. The countryside was depopulated. So were fulfilled the words of the *taran*—'if a slave becomes a strong and influential man, the country cannot prosper,' and so was Lat Rone justified in his interpretation of the same—'all living things in this country will go through the agony of burning fire.'

M. S. COLLIS.

THE CITY OF GOLDEN MRAUK-U.

By M. S. COLLIS.

Mrauk-U was founded in 1430 A. D. and became the seat of the Arakanese dynasty of that name. It was embellished by King Minba in 1540 with some of its more remarkable temples. The fortifications were completed under Min Palaung and Rāzagri at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1634, the date chosen for this reconstruction, it was at the top of its importance, rich with the accumulated wealth of two centuries of internal peace, successful foreign war, with a dynasty which had passed on its authority without dispute from father to son. After 1634 it entered upon its decline. Usurpations became the rule. It grew weaker until conquered by the Burmese in 1784. In 1825 the British drove out the Burmese Governor and added it to the Indian Empire. It is now a small country town called Myohaung and the headquarters of a township of that name.

In the following pages I attempt to describe Mrauk-U as it appeared in 1634, the turning point of its history. The accompanying maps are some guide, though they depict the site as it exists to-day.

Geographically speaking, the situation of Mrauk-U is peculiar. It lies sixty miles from the coast, but the largest ocean-going ships of that period could reach it through the network of deep creeks by which it is surrounded. This gave it the advantages of a port, without the attendant risk of surprise by an enemy fleet. A large rice growing area immediately enveloped it. From behind, an old road ran over the mountains to Burma proper, while on the north-west there was easy communication with India. It was a natural focus for trade on the easterly shore of the Bay of Bengal.

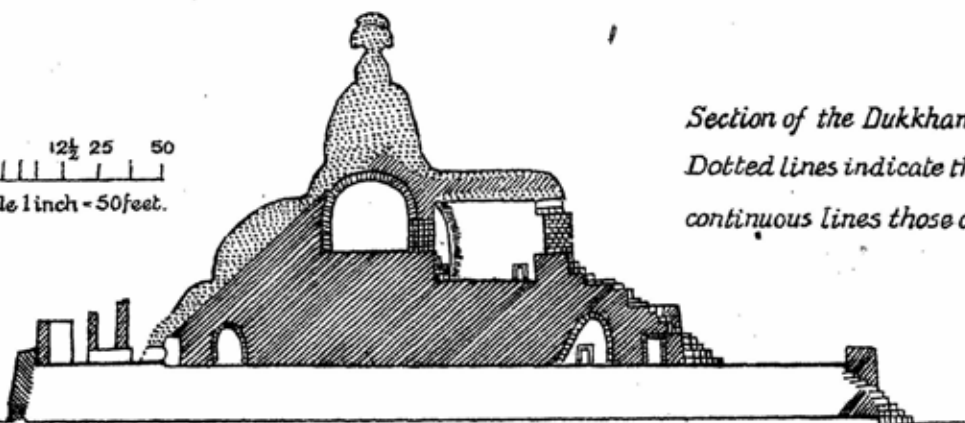
The city of Mrauk-U was not built on the pattern of those Indo-Chinese cities of which Mandalay is considered to be a standing example, that is to say, it was not enclosed within rectangular walls, pierced at measured intervals by gates, with corresponding streets crossing within at right angles. It was irregular and depended for its conformation on the topography of the site.

In the centre was the palace-citadel, built on a natural hill about sixty feet high and surrounded by a stone wall in three terraces and by a moat. On the summit stood the palace building, probably made partly of stone and partly of wood, for stone foundations are still visible on the site. However, the structure itself must in the main have been of wood, for it is described thus by Manrique. "It has massive wooden columns of such extraordinary length and straightness, that one wonders there are trees so tall and so straight. The inside columns are entirely



No. 33.

05 12½ 25 50
Scale 1 inch = 50 feet.

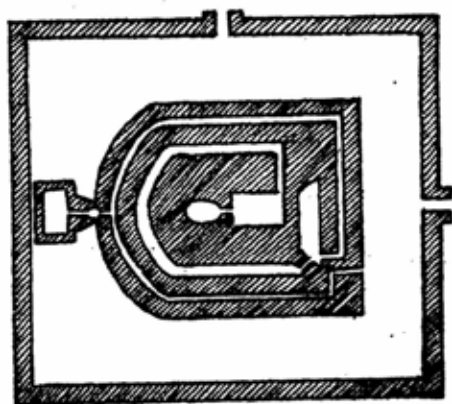


Section of the Dukkhanthein.

*Dotted lines indicate the portions consisting of bricks;
continuous lines those constructed of stone blocks.*

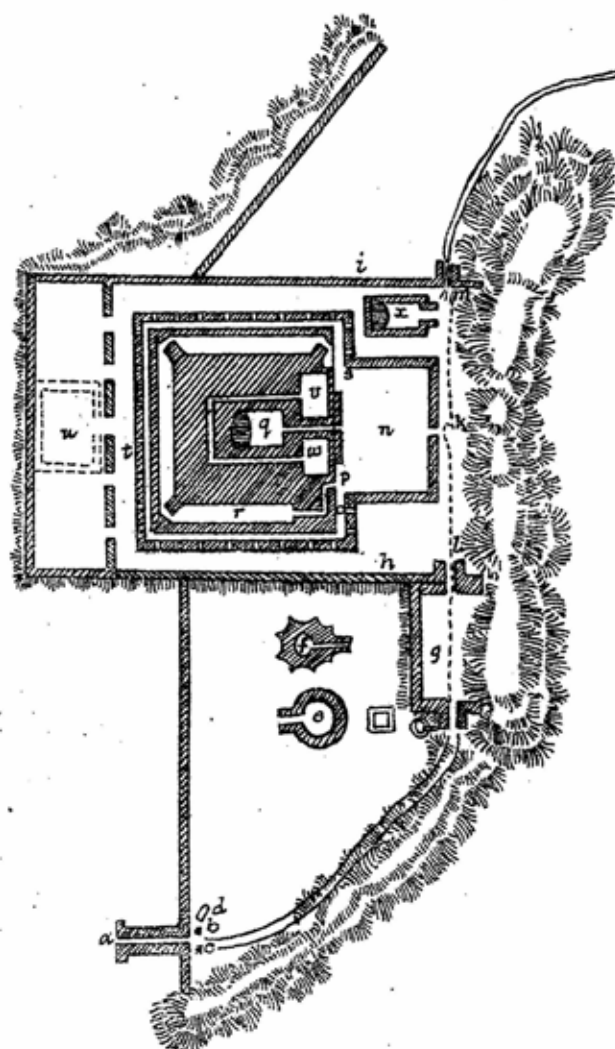
No. 31.

PLAN
of the
Dukkhanthein



Scale, 100 feet = 1 inch.
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150 200

Path to the Andaw Pagoda



PLAN
of the
Shitthaungpara

Scale Inch to 100 feet
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 feet.

gilt. There is a hall gilt from top to bottom." These two details are sufficient to show that the royal palace at Mrauk-U in 1634 must have resembled in the main the palace of King Thibaw in Mandalay two hundred and fifty years later. The style was Burmese and not Indian. Though just over the border from Bengal, Arakan belonged and belongs essentially to the civilization of Indo-China.

Standing up in this way over the city was the palace. Below it a town of considerable size was spread. Manrique estimates the population at one hundred and sixty thousand, not counting foreign visitors and traders. That would make it rather larger than the present city of Mandalay. As the area now covered with ruins and remains is an oblong of some fourteen miles round, the Padre's estimate is quite possible. The surface of the ground was not a plain, but rather a jumble of low hills and rolling slopes, intersected with tidal rivers. As Manrique says: "through the middle of the city runs a large and copious river, which branching off through various parts, makes the greater number of its streets navigable for different kinds of craft, big and small." In fact he suggests that most of the traffic was by water. The houses must have been built along the creeks and up and down the slopes, but even from the upper galleries of the palace it would have been impossible to obtain a general view of the whole town. The eye would have been restricted by some sharp bluff or some pagoda-crowned hill. Though the palace was on a height, there is no doubt that cannon on one of the many hills within the city boundaries would have commanded it. The general lay-out was therefore to the last degree informal and irregular, the streets curving, going up and down hill, crossing bridges, disappearing behind this hill and re-appearing from behind that. But as I will point out later, this natural conformation was inherent in the conception of the city's defences.

The houses were made of bamboo. The neighbouring mountains then, as now, were presumably covered with that plant. But it must not be supposed that a bamboo house is necessarily a mat hut. Though indeed such structures do not last long and have to be extensively repaired after each rainy season, they are watertight and sanitary and can be made to look charming. Nowadays when the Chin tribes inhabiting the hills and upper reaches of the rivers of Arakan are the cleverest exponents of how to build in bamboo, one may observe in their villages neat strong houses, the mat walls worked in patterns and the whole, bright and corncoloured, giving an impression of skilled finish. Such were the houses in Mrauk-U. As Manrique observes—"the houses are made according to the means and position of those who get them made, for much labour and ingenuity is spent on the curious designs of fine variegated mats, very neat and beautiful things." The same authority states that the houses of the aristocracy contained rooms made of wood, "the different sculptures and mouldings of the woodwork being gilt and painted in various colours." On the

whole the streets of Mrauk-U must have resembled those of any Burmese village of the present day, though there was more bamboo used and less wood, and perhaps the workmanship was neater and the material more wrought than is the case now.

Beyond this expanse of houses were the defences of the city. Mrauk-U was so situated that it could only be attacked across the plain of Parein from the south-east, east and north-east. The north was a tangle of hills and creeks, considerably higher and rougher than the hillocks within the city. The west was a plain intersected with innumerable deep creeks, across which no foot soldiers could have made progress. The south again was stony hills. But all round the east side stretched the plain of Parein, leading to the Lemro river. Any attack from Burma naturally came from that direction, as several roads over the high mountains of the divide debouched on the Lemro. Even the English in 1825, advancing from the south-west with the fleet, found it necessary to go round to the plain of Parein and attack from the east. It was, therefore, on the east that Mrauk-U was fortified. From the hills on the north down to the hills on the south of the city a maze-like chain of lakes and moats, which wound in and out, sometimes one behind the other, with blind alleys, false entrances, backed with high stone battlements and worked in with natural ridges, covered the whole eastern approach. These defences were calculated to baffle any enemy. And, in fact, as long as the Kings of Mrauk-U were strong and manned the works with vigour, the city remained impregnable. Even the English in 1825, with only a Burmese Governor to dislodge, found the assault difficult and were repulsed until Arakanese, who knew the topography, indicated a vital point.

Besides this system of defence, the Kings had constructed on the south, in three valleys three large reservoirs. These were so built with dams and sluices that if an enemy had succeeded in breaking through the eastern moats and penetrating into the city, the waters would have been let loose, flooding the town and drowning the invaders. The King with his army could take refuge on the citadel safely above the flood. It is recorded in the Arakanese MSS. that when Tabin-shwe-ti, King of Pegu, broke through the outer defences in his attack on the city in the 16th century, the dams were opened and his army was overwhelmed.

Besides the citadel, the people's dwellings and the system of fortifications, were also in this year of 1634 some remarkable religious buildings, situated mostly in the north quarter of the city. These were constructed of stone, stone procured, it is said, from the island of Ramree, a hundred miles to the south. Many of them were in the style popularly known as the pagoda and resemble the modern Burmese design, though there is a severity and proportion about them which make the curls and creases of the Shwedagon appear phantasmal. But some are in an architecture not to be met with in the East. Of them the Dukkan-thein and the Shittaung-parā are the most remarkable. These structures are temples in the more general acceptance of the word.

I need not describe their architecture, their bas-reliefs, their aroma of Tantric Hinduism; this has already been done by writers more informed on such subjects than myself. But to their situation, the thickness of their walls and their lay out I do desire to draw attention. While the citadel was the final refuge for the King and his army in the event of an enemy breaching the outer defences, so these two structures were the last retreat for the ecclesiastics. Into them all the monks in Mrauk-U could flee. Each stood on a mound at least forty feet above the mean level of the city and so out of danger of inundation from the reservoirs. In the first instance, therefore, these temples were the priests' citadel. The Dukkan-thein had only one door; its walls were twelve feet thick of solid stone; once the priests were within, not even cannon could have dislodged them.

The Shittaung-parā, almost equally strong, was in normal times the residence of the head of the Arakanese priesthood. This Hpongyi had the temporal power of life and death over monks. From the drawings given here the maze-like layout of both temples may be observed. Reasons of defence cannot, to my mind, entirely account for this curious plan and I hazard the suggestion that some ritual of initiation, some ceremonies, half Hindu and half Buddhist, which required a secret and involved housing, were there enacted.

Such in outward appearance was the city of Mrauk-U. I have described in an earlier article how Fra Manrique, the Portuguese missionary, came there in 1630. After staying a certain length and completing his business, he returned to Dianga, the headquarters of the Portuguese in Chittagong. A second time, however, he entered Arakan and arrived at the capital in 1633, remaining till 1635. As is often the case on a second visit, he saw deeper than on the first. I propose from his detailed account to reconstruct the city as it appeared during that great social and economic event, the coronation of Thiri-thudhamma in 1634, of which he was an eye witness. It will then appear at its most animated, with all its vital forces at stretch, and it may be possible, within the framework of walls and houses, citadel and temple, creek and hillock, to visualize Golden Mrauk-U.

This matter of the coronation opens a peculiar sidelight on Arakanese history. There is no doubt both from the text of Manrique and from the implications of the Arakanese MSS. that a current prophecy foretold that Thiri-thudhamma would die soon after his crowning. As described in a previous article, he was murdered, in popular opinion, by Yadayā. This murder took place shortly after his coronation, and in fact, therefore, the prophecy was fulfilled. Thiri-thudhamma was aware and afraid of what was foretold (and the result shows he was right to fear), but he thought that if his coronation was postponed indefinitely, he would evade his fate. Thus, though he came to the throne in 1622, he put it off year after year and it was now 1634. At last, popular opinion against which even the most absolute monarch is

not immune, demanded that the coronation should take place. An uncrowned king was a profound breach of custom. It threw the mechanism of royal rule into confusion. Thiri-thudhamma was only too well aware of the necessity, but he was troubled by this persistent prophecy. It must be remembered that his predecessors for two hundred years had been crowned and had ruled peacefully from father to son. But in his case some special catastrophe was foreshadowed, some violent death which must imply an usurpation. When the expedient of postponing his coronation failed, it was natural that he should make inquiries and seek some other mode of evading the fulfillment of the prophecy. For crowned he had to be; Manrique makes it clear that he was pressed by his ministers; no doubt that Kuthala, who soon afterwards made away with him, already felt the stir of ambition and hoped that the ordinary course of events would accomplish what afterwards he had personally to undertake.

The King had in his employ a certain Mohomedan Hajji. This man was reputed to have a considerable knowledge of the occult sciences. He was also a doctor and had obtained cures which endeared him to his master. The previous descriptions of Thiri-thudhamma have shown him a mild man of family tastes, exercising a benign rule over a kingdom which Manrique again and again, almost in spite of himself, exclaims to have been the seat for that age of a gentle civilization. But there appears to have been a certain department where the practice of such virtue was regarded as impossible. Just as at that date in Europe the Inquisition was ready to torture thousands to death so that the great church might not suffer from criticism or schism, so in Arakan the King did not hesitate to put persons to loss or death, provided that the day, place and angle of their misfortune were such, according to the laws of Yadayā, as to benefit, strengthen and give life to the great dynasty. Manrique quotes a strange case of this. He says that one day at nine in the morning he was beginning the Introit of the Mass at the altar of the church he had built in the Daingri-hpet quarter of the city, when cries of "fire!" were heard; he stopped the Office and quickly removed the vestments to a place of safety. But as the wind was not blowing in that direction and as elephants were soon on the scene, breaking down the houses in a circle round the fire, the church escaped. The incendiaries were caught. Now these men had been sent by the King on the advice of his professors of Yadayā. The latter's argument was that in order to counteract a certain evil influence bearing on the dynasty from a certain point, it was necessary from another point and at a fixed hour to commit arson. (Nine o'clock in the morning was certainly a very inconvenient hour for an incendiary to start a conflagration, though presumably it was the only possible hour for the adept of Yadayā in that particular combination of events). If a Yadayā calculation indicated midnight as the time, the fire began at that hour and naturally more of the inhabitants were burnt. For just as the Inquisitors argued that no individual could indulge in private religious views to the detriment of the Church, so the King's adepts

made it clear that neither the property-rights nor lives of citizens had any existence, when the throne was threatened. In all other respects such rights were recognised and vindicated. Even the unfortunate agents employed to light the fires, if caught, were impaled, on the ground that outrage to life and property must be avenged in the ordinary manner, or the roughs would say there was no law and begin burning on their own account. It was the bad Karma of those persons whose natal measurements happened to bring them across the line of an evil influence bearing on the crown. They ceased, and rightly ceased it was argued, to have any claim to personal protection from the Government, when their mathematical position cosmically was inimical to Government. At any rate, their houses were often burnt and in the case cited Manrique himself and his church had a narrow escape.

As I have stated above, the King was very intimate with a certain Mahomedan Hajji, and when this difficulty about his coronation became acute he called him in consultation. The problem the man had to resolve was this—as the King's death is foretold as occurring shortly after his coronation and as he must now submit to that ceremony, how can his life be preserved? There was obviously only one answer to such a query—by magic. The magic he proposed was, perhaps, grievous and desperate. Yet was not the fate of a dynasty in the balance? The most desperate remedy was amply justified. He did not use the method of Yadayā, familiar and permitted by public opinion. His plan was what an apothecary might devise. He called for six thousand human hearts, four thousand hearts of white cows and two thousand hearts of white pigeons. As the object was so vital the King saw no reason to refuse and authorized the prescription. The police laid hold of persons in the public streets and delivered them up, so that in a few days no one dared leave his house. Manrique, who was an eye witness of the affair from first to last, relates that the citizens made the strongest representations, contending that the matter was contrary to all precedent, and in deference to their views the villages in the vicinity of Mrauk-U were called upon to supply a quota. In a certain retired place among the hills near the town, the Mahomedan, equipped with fires and cauldrons, distilled these hearts and prepared a perfume, able, he declared, to render the King invincible and invisible, and so adequately protected against any dangers that might threaten him hereafter. Manrique stigmatises this Hajji as a "minion of Lucifer," as "Satan's hangman" and as "a hellish wizard." He describes him as boiling the hearts by day and invoking the spirits of the ruffian dead by night. But here the padre shows that he failed to enter into the point of view of the authorities. Still it must be admitted that the Hajji had a lively idea of his duties to the Crown and carried his devotion to royalty very far.

The people became increasingly indignant. Even the aristocracy considered this prescription of the commons as without precedent. But

before they had decided upon an effective method of protest, the killing ceased, the perfume was finished and the king was declared safe from whatever dangers might befall.

Manrique describes very well the great relief felt by everybody when it was all over. The people had been living in fear for some months, each man dreading it might be his turn next. But one evening, looking up at the turrets of the palace on the height, the citizens saw the place illuminated, heard the strains of a band playing a cheerful air and the sound of ordnance in a *feu de joie*. Everyone knew this signified the end of the anxious days and the beginning of the coronation festivities. Next morning they all put on their best clothes. "The people were seen to stream out of their houses, their present gaiety making them forget their former tears and their gala dresses being an ornament to the very streets they passed through." How exceedingly typical is this of Burmese mentality. Last week the King took our hearts for a perfume; we wept. Next week the King is to be crowned; how very exciting! The Burmese in the bulk are the same now as they were then.

The coronation of Thiri-thudhamma meant a sequence of festivities. The first thing was for all the notabilities to come into Mrauk-U from the country. Everyone of any standing had to be present. Manrique describes how he himself wanted to get away, and on going to ask Thiri-thudhamma's permission, that monarch said, laughing at him—"How now, Padre? Do you ask to go to Bengala when all the Princes and grandees of my kingdoms come to assist at my coronation?" Not only did the city quickly fill up with such persons, but traders crowded in, as this was a good opportunity to dispose of expensive wares, when everyone wanted new clothes or ornaments for their wives or provision for feasts. From Manrique's account of the different nationalities represented in the bazaar a vivid idea can be gained of the trade of Mrauk-U and what an important roadstead it was on the route between India and the Spice Islands. A ship, after leaving Chittagong on a voyage to Java, did not stand straight across the bay but kept to the coast. Mrauk-U is one of the few harbours on the east line of the Bay of Bengal. Hence trading ships naturally put in there to revictual and pay their way. On this occasion, however, as the opportunities for trade were so good, larger numbers than usual arrived. It appears that in the seventeenth century Arakan had some system of protection; at least revenue was raised by imposts on imported articles at the various custom houses. But on this occasion, free trade was allowed, the better to encourage merchants, and no duties were levied. Not only were the nearest kingdoms of Bengal and Pegu represented, but there were ships from Siam, Cambodia and Java in the port. Masulapatam and the Maldives had sent goods and so had Sumatra. There was a huge crowd of different races with "such a diversity of costumes, such a variety of languages,

such a disparity of religions, that the eye had plenty of work to distinguish by their costumes the differences of nationality." These traders pitched tents in long lines and in these streets exhibited their wares. There were the jewellers, offering diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, jacinths, topazes, with gold and silver in bars. There were the spice merchants, well stocked with musk, incense, camphor, saltpetre, opium and tobacco. Dyes of various kinds were on sale. Drugs were to be had. Stuffs were in plenty, silk and cotton, and there were ornaments in ivory and services in porcelain. In the way of food there was everything the mind could conceive. Police kept order at the entrances to these improvised bazaars. Everyone was in the highest spirits. Dancing girls were here, conjurors there. Boats passed close on the creek, flying flags, music rising from them. And at night fireworks and illuminations capped the gaieties of the day. Such was the general appearance of the city when the first ceremonies of the coronation began. As has been explained before, Thiri-thudhamma was King of the whole coast strip from Chittagong to Martaban. In order to bring this out and give a demonstration of his power to the people, it was part of the coronation ceremony that the governors of all the important divisions of that area should be crowned with coronets, as if they were tributary kings, for the King of Mrauk-U styled himself Emperor or Padshah on this ground, namely that he had twelve kings under him. The first tributary to be crowned was he of Uritaung, that port first reached by Manrique when he interviewed the Arakanese Admiral. It is true that Uritaung is not fifty miles from Mrauk-U, but if Thiri-thudhamma chose to style his governor of that place a king, it was his affair and certainly agreeable to public opinion.

Early one morning in November 1633, a big bell began ringing from the citadel, followed by salutes of artillery from the walls. This was the signal for all to assemble at the palace for the crowning of the first of the twelve sub-kings. Manrique had an invitation and describes how he with other Portuguese entered the great gilded hall of the pillars. This was hung for the occasion with tapestry. Carpets covered the floors. There was a big drum and there was a window with a very gorgeous curtain over it. The drum was struck, everyone made their bow, the curtain was drawn back and Thiri-thudhamma was disclosed on a throne. This not being his own coronation, he was not in the fullest dress. He had on a green coat; ropes of good pearls were round his neck; in his right hand he held a gold fan encrusted with emeralds to match his clothes. He was being fanned by two pretty girls. (How similar this is to the East as represented on the London stage! How different from the real East of today!) He was surrounded by thirty monks in yellow damask, all standing.

A concert was then performed, classical songs in Arakanese and Burmese being sung. This lasted an hour. Oriental ceremonies and entertainments are long, as Manrique discovered before the end. Then followed a ballet, a *yein pwe*. After this twenty-four children brought

in the twelve crowns and the twelve sceptres to be bestowed on the sub-kings. This part was a tedious ceremonial. At last the prince himself appeared, the governor of Uriaung, a young fine-looking man in red velvet. As soon as he saw Thiri-thudhamma, he made the *shi-ko* to the ground, advanced, prostrated himself again, took another step, flung himself down a third time, was raised by four venerable monks and led to the steps of the throne, where he repeated his abasement. There he was left "with his mouth against the ground." Dead silence followed. Thiri-thudhamma vacated his throne and a monk sat upon it, holding a small image in his hands. (Here Manrique becomes heated in his account. Speaking of the image, he says—"the devil had on his head a garland of flowers.") The would-be sub-king now bowed seven times to the image, placed it on his head, made an oath of allegiance to Thiri-thudhamma and remained face-downwards. "This ridiculous oath finished, the hellish minister retired with his idol," adds Manrique, in high disapproval. The king then seated himself again on his throne and a monk on his right pronounced the decree of crowning. By this time the young man in red velvet had made so many prostrations that he was "sweating copiously." But they had not finished with him yet. He was led nearer; a monk placed a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand; and making five last reverences he kissed the feet of Thiri-thudhamma. Suddenly the big drum sounded thrice; everyone quickly threw themselves on their faces; the curtain was drawn; Thiri-thudhamma disappeared.

Brother Manrique now thought he would be able to get away. Before leaving, however, it was necessary to say good-bye to the kinglet. This he could not accomplish immediately, as in the outer hall to which they had all adjourned, there was a large crowd offering congratulations. He wasted a full hour, when the Prince stepped towards the door, where his elephant, a magnificent animal in a red velvet coat, was standing. Manrique saw his opportunity and approached to take leave. "Ah, Padre" said the young man, with the greatest affability, "you must be my guest to-night." Manrique was exceedingly annoyed at having to accept this invitation. The crowning had begun at dawn; it was now late in the afternoon; he was tired and anxious to get home. But there was no help for it. He had to go. He had to join the procession now forming at the door. He was offered an elephant with a gilded howdah, but preferred a discreet back seat on the animal ridden by the chief captain. The cavalcade set out from the palace courtyard; the crowd was so thick that the elephants stood on some of the spectators; the bands were playing fortissimo; the people shouted at the top of their voices; and as they passed out, there was a deafening discharge of ordnance.

The cortege was a military display and permits one to form some idea of the Arakanese army of that date. Apparently it was a mercenary force of foreigners. The Arakanese themselves were not impressed. The Captain of the Body-guard rode first on a fine Arab. He was a

Mahomedan from Upper India, dressed in green velvet studded with silver. Six hundred horsemen followed in three divisions; the first of Moguls in green silk; the second of Peguans in violet satin; the third of Burmese in gilt corselets. Manrique speaks elsewhere of this foreign cavalry and gives the number then at fifteen hundred. They were household troops, part of the foreign paid army by means of which the King maintained himself and which he used in his wars. Mention has been made elsewhere of the Japanese foot soldiers and the Portuguese artillery. It was a cosmopolitan force.

Following the cavalry were a hundred elephants of the guard, and two hundred ridden by grandees. The former had cutlasses in their trunks, which in battle they were trained to swing among the enemy. Now in the procession girls danced and sang between them; richly and elegantly dressed and garlanded with flowers, they flitted in and out like bright birds, patting the elephants as if they had been pet dogs, while the beasts themselves tucked in their trunks and minded their step, so as not to hurt them.

Thus they paraded the streets of the city. By the time the procession reached the Prince's residence, it was already dark, and torches were burning in the courtyard as the elephants entered. There standing to receive them was a near kinsman of Thiri-ihudhamma. He stepped forward, assisting the young Prince to alight and giving him his hand. The latter dismounted very briskly and making the *shi-ko*, kissed the extremity of the other's garment. Then rising and assuming the rôle of host, he led the way, pointing down a brightly lit corridor and inviting the party to follow. In this way they reached a feasting hall, perfumed with hanging lamps of silver, carpeted, hung with silk, and with a ceiling of gilt figures in relief. They sat down and soon low tables were brought in, covered with dishes. The supper began; there was meat, vegetables and sweets. Each guest had his own table. But Manrique did not enjoy himself much. He did not care for the food. They had fried rat again, as on the previous occasion when he dined with the Chancellor at the Paragri. The sweets were only passable. But worst of all, after dinner dancing girls performed in such a way that, as he says, he "had to close his eyes or lower them." The banquet lasted till dawn. That was what Manrique had been afraid of from the start—the interminable hospitality of the orient. He got away at last, "tired and bored." But the public was indefatigable. They danced, sang, paraded, rode and feasted seven more days for the Prince of Uritaung, and eight days for each of the eleven remaining sub-kings, ninety six days of festivity before the real coronation began! But the old masters of ceremony knew their business. A dull government is the devil. It may not have amused Manrique, but it vastly tickled the people. And the people demanded, deserved and probably repaid tickling. Had they not given themselves heart and soul to their king at a time of dynastic stress?

When all these preliminaries were accomplished, the time came for the King's coronation. It was the spring of 1634. The day dawned bright and clear. A salvo of ordnance was shot off and everyone of importance hastened to the palace and took their places in the pillared hall of gilt. At the far end was the window and the drawn curtain. The drum sounded; the curtain went up and disclosed the Emperor of Arakan. It was a well calculated group. On the degrees of the silver throne knelt the twelve sub-kings. At the summit sat Thiri-thudhamma on a golden seat. He wore blue velvet and in his ears were ruby ear rings. These jewels were as renowned as the Koh-i-noor afterwards became. They had been the cause of wars for generations between the nations of Further India. It was even said that the great Mogul himself hoped one day to possess them. And well he might, for each was as long as the little finger and at the base as large round as a hen's egg. Manrique, who on a previous occasion had been allowed to examine these stones at close quarters, thus describes his sensations. "I freely confess that although I had seen in other parts of the East many things of great price and value, yet I stood amazed, especially on seeing that I could scarcely fix my eyes on them, owing to the sparkle and splendour they cast." These stones hung from the enlarged ear-lobes of Thiri-thudhamma and killed with their brilliance the many other precious gems and pearls with which the throne was encrusted. A monk now addressed the assembled grandees, who remained with heads inclined and in profound silence. The King would shortly proceed to the Shittaung temple, said he, where the Head of the Church would crown him. They ought to be glad of that, he went on, because his rule, so sanctified, would be just. He then paid his royal master extravagant compliments for the greater part of an hour. Manrique observed the King's face during this encomium. "What I enjoyed much," he writes, "was to see and watch with what attention the barbarian monarch listened. He did not stir; his eyelids had ceased moving; it was evident that he greatly enjoyed these flatteries." This may have been actually so, but it was good manners and good policy to make it appear so. It was good manners because it blended with the occasion; it was good policy because all wise Governments teach their subjects to speak well of them. But Manrique may have been right in his interpretation of the King's expression, when one remembers how the minister, Kuthala, afterwards deceived him. The monk concluded his address, the curtain was drawn and the first act of the coronation ceremony was over.

The spectators left the pillared hall and reassembled in another apartment of the palace. Through this the King was presently borne on a rich litter by eight men in green livery. The procession for the Shittaung pagoda was formed. It led down a covered way to that temple. At the sacred gate two thousand monks were in waiting. These conducted Thiri-thudhamma and his Buddhist following into the shrine. Manrique and the Indians remained outside. They waited two

hours, when a bell sounded and the King reappeared wearing his crown which, though studded with huge diamonds, rubies and pearls, appeared cheap beside the perfection of his ear-rings. He gave a mediocre inclination to the monks, mounted a huge elephant, and placed himself at the head of a procession. There was cavalry in uniforms of violet and of green; the elephantry was castled, with standards flying, with golden bells chiming, in trappings of velvet; there were bearers of the royal parasols. The grandees followed on foot. Loud music conducted them through the city streets which were adorned with rich cloths of silk, fluttering with innumerable flags and marked at intervals by triumphal arches. Great crowds lined the way or clustered at the stopping places, and from every window and from every balcony ladies in splendid jewels looked down. These "though of a yellowish brown complexion, gave no less motive to praise their divine Creator, than those of our Europe with their white ruby faces."

After his progress through the streets, Thiri-thudhamma returned to the palace and, as the last act of the prolonged festivities, stationed himself at a window beside the Queen and threw down on the crowds below handfuls of newly coined silver money.

There is no doubt that Brother Manrique was much impressed by the pageantry of that day, impressed beyond himself, for he was caustic and critical by nature. Starting with the preconceived notion that the King was a barbarian and his religion a heathenism, he recounts what he sees and as the narrative grows, raises, in spite of himself, his hands in admiration. Reading his account of the coronation, one is moved by the gaiety, by the gusto in which the whole city sang, played, feasted, watched and made reverence. There was the Burmese mentality at its most natural, at its most characteristic, moving in an atmosphere most essential and most suited to its richest manifestation.

As one glances back over this description of Mrauk-U, its citadel, its large population, its temples, its web-like fortifications, as one pictures the foreign merchants offering for sale the wares of the world in their booths, the galleys at the port, the paid cosmopolitan army, the many nations mixing in the streets, as one looks deeper into the meaning of that polity, the kingship, the long internal peace, the mathematics of magic and the last resort of sacrifice to buttress up the fabric, one understands that this life was undivided, that it was the precise expression of the genius of that people and that it is idle to add, subtract, praise or deplore or blame. The Arakanese of that day were proud of Mrauk-U. They regarded it with satisfaction. They were pleased it was their fortune to live there. It rose up the emanation of their ideal. Even the Europeans found it a profitable place of residence. Their services were well paid, they were treated with respect and they lived in their own quarter, under their own captain, in enjoyment of their own religion. 1634 is a tragic date for Arakan. From that year it began to wither away. The Hajji's sacrifices were ill calculated. The King's

perfume failed of its effect. That principle of authority, which it was considered worth while to preserve even at the cost of so many hearts, lost its potency, was flouted by usurpers, became the prey of the mercenary. Now Mrauk-U is in ruins. Its population is not one-twentieth of what it was. Like an old graveyard where the living wander among dim memories, it is overgrown and tangled and forlorn.

M. S. COLLIS,

AUTHORITIES.

Padre Maestro Frey Seb. Manrique. Chap. XXI to XXXIV.

Forchammer's Antiquities of Arakan.

Private notes founded on personal observation at the site.

CAMPBELL ROBERTSON IN ARAKAN, 1825 A.D.

By M. S. COLLIS.

In the foregoing papers I have noted that Arakan declined from the period of Thiri-thudhamma until in 1784 it was easily annexed by the Burmese, who placed it in charge of a Governor. Various historians have detailed at length the ways in which the Burmese provoked the East India Company, and how in 1825 Arakan was invaded by the British, as part of a wider military operation against the kingdom of Ava. The political officer who accompanied the British forces into Arakan was Campbell Robertson of the Bengal Civil Service, and it may be interesting to follow him in his march to Mrauk-U and hear his impressions of the country and the people.* What had happened to the Arakanese in a hundred and ninety years? To what had come once Golden Mrauk-U?

Robertson was a remarkable man. His is one of the few European names remembered in Arakan. Old men will point to a ridge and tell you—there Robertson encamped. Every rustic will relate to you the traditional story of his marriage with the goddess of Parein. He seems to have made a profound impression on the Arakanese of that date. They liked him because he was sympathetic, because he listened to what they had to say, because he had a genuine warm feeling for them in his heart. He praised them when they did well; he explained them in a favourable light to the less informed higher authorities; and while he conciliated their affection, he knew how to command their obedience.

In the year 1824 large numbers of Arakanese were living in the British territory of Chittagong, where people called them Mugs. They had fled their own country because they could not abide Burmese rule, and because having raised abortive rebellions against it they were proscribed by the Burmese authorities. These *émigrés* formed large colonies in Chittagong, from whence they made raids of revenge into Burmese territory and were in every way objectionable to the Burmese.

Campbell Robertson, who was District Magistrate at Chittagong, knew them well. He aptly describes them as standing in the same relation to the Burmans as the Portuguese stand to the Spaniards. He notes that their national pride was unabated. They still kept alive memories and traditions of the past, when the kingdom of Arakan was from Dacca to the Salween. Their ambition was to return one day and revive golden glories. Robertson remarks on their hardihood and vitality in comparison with the gentle Bengalees, among whom they were settled. Their living was made chiefly as boatmen on the Megna and the outer creeks. Their business integrity was impeccable, and it was the custom to entrust them with the most valuable merchandize on a mere

*Campbell Robertson recorded his observations in a book called, "Political Incidents of the first Burmese War", published in 1853. It is now very rare.

note of hand. Honest and active, they were also well-behaved and were the most law-abiding portion of the population of eastern Bengal.

Robertson was thus well acquainted with the characteristics of the Arakanese before the Burmese war was thought of, and when in 1824 events had moved so far as to make that war inevitable, he took an extended tour through their villages on his side, making the acquaintance of their headmen and explaining to them that the British were about to drive the Burmese out of Arakan. It can be imagined with what enthusiasm they received this information. Their long cherished hope of regaining their country was to be realised. They were sure that when the English had driven the Burman over the Yomas, Arakan would be given back to them and that the line of their kings would be revived.

So when Robertson suggested that they should raise a regiment to assist, they agreed with acclamation. This was the origin and *raison d'être* of the Mug Levy, which, though undisciplined and touchy, rendered valuable services as long as active operations were in progress.

So it was that Robertson began to acquire that standing in Arakanese opinion for which he became remarkable. While waiting at Cox's Bazaar for the outbreak of hostilities, he spent his time translating a MS. history of old Arakan. The manuscript had been given him by a Hpongyi and the translation was afterwards published in volume XV of "Asiatic Researches." This active interest in a past they were so proud of flattered and pleased the Arakanese, who became the devoted allies of the British. The Mug levy drilled. It donned European accoutrements. It was armed with the best weapons of the date. And what it lacked in military polish, it provided in enthusiasm. Then, as now, the Arakanese were pleasant people, and one can observe how Robertson became increasingly attached to them.

In January 1825 the British invasion of Arakan, as part of the Burmese dominions, was begun. Since it was the fair season, the army had not to take the mountain road followed by Brother Manrique in 1630. It marched down the coast and with the assistance of the boats, intelligence and provisions provided by the Mug levy, was before Mahati, a few miles south of Mrauk-U, by the end of March. No resistance had so far been offered by the Burmese garrison, while the Arakanese of the villages, through which the army passed, greeted them as deliverers.

The British crossed the river at Mahati and debouched upon the plain of Parein, not far from the east gate of the city. It was after the first abortive attack on that gate that the marriage between Robertson and the guardian goddess of Parein is supposed to have taken place. He himself whispers not a word of this ceremony. He published, of course, his book thirty years later, in the heart of the Victorian epoch. Perhaps he may have thought an account of so pagan a sacrament, in which he played the leading part of bridegroom, would cause adverse

comment at a time when the sanctities could not be flouted without rebuke. Perhaps he thought that he would never hear the last of it from his friends. Perhaps for thirty years it had been a standing joke against him and having lived it down, he had no desire to revive it in his old age. Suffice it to say that not a word about this famous marriage escapes him, but for all that the yokels of Mahati to-day will lead you to the statue of the goddess and steadily declare that the wedding took place.

It had the placating effect expected by the Arakanese and next day Mrauk-U was taken by storm and sacked.

Remembering what the city was like two hundred years before, it is interesting to record the impression, which Robertson received, as he stood on the height and watched the troops stream in. "The town of Arracan (as he calls Mrauk-U) was not a cheerful-looking place, even then in the brightest part of the year." "It stood at the bottom of a sort of cup" he explains, "of perhaps about a mile in diameter." This shows it to have shrunk down to the dimensions of a small country town. "Upon a somewhat elevated platform of rock stood the citadel or inner town of an oblong form, enclosed within walls constructed with stones of almost cyclopean massiveness." This was the old palace site, where now the Burmese Governor lived. Robertson goes on to describe the hills which surround the city, and how they had been linked up and fortified by mounds of earth, faced with stone. These he calls "gigantic works of an earlier age." And he describes the Burmese defences as puny entrenchments in comparison. Mrauk-U must have been as far from its former grandeur in 1825 as it is now. But Robertson was impressed and felt that the stories he had heard of a great past were true.

The city itself was not only shrunken; the houses were mere hovels. There were none of the fine carved mansions of the aristocracy described by Brother Manrique. There was not a building in which troops could be lodged. This was serious because it was now April; the rains were approaching; and to withdraw or advance over the Yomas, was equally impossible. The wet season had to be spent at Mrauk-U, though it was notoriously unhealthy for newcomers. In 1825 the prevention and cure of malaria was undreamed of. Robertson gives a dreadful description of that monsoon,—the men housed in bamboo barracks, the roar of the rain, the increasing sickness, the funerals which passed his door every day. But the Arakanese stood by him. Provisions and materials were forthcoming; and though there was disorder in the villages, when the exiled Arakanese returned to their old estates, some attempt at an administration was begun in collaboration with the Chiefs and Headmen. In August Robertson went south to Kyaukpyu and Sandoway. In the last glimpse we get of him he is entrusting his safety entirely to the Arakanese. "I was accompanied by several Mug Chiefs. The boat I lived in was manned by Mugs, and a detachment of Mugs formed my escort."

In this manner the Arakanese assisted the British to snatch Arakan from the Burmese. So is explained their claim that they are not a conquered race, but rather humble allies. The fact that they were not given the independent administration of their recovered territory, that their champions did not withdraw after performing the good deed, may at first have dashed them, but on reflection they perceived that without British protection they could not in any event have stayed the king of Ava from recrossing the Yoma and holding them again in bondage. This thought calmed the malcontents, and the race settled down to a century of education, a century of contact with the mind of the world.

M. S. COLLIS.

THE FIRST BURMESE WAR. BY MAUNG BOON.

TRANSLATED BY SAN SHWE BU.

Translator's Note.

Of the three Anglo Burmese Wars the first is perhaps the most interesting, the most written-about and the most widely known. Most of the papers relating thereto have been examined and published. But in spite of all our knowledge there still remains a phase of this war—the operations in Arakan—which is not so well known to the general public. Many years ago Mr. Robertson, the civil officer in charge of the expedition, published a small volume, "The political incidents of the First Burmese War," in which he gave a clear and valuable account dealing with the main incidents of the operations. Unfortunately this book is very rare and not easily obtained by the general public.* But besides Robertson an Arakanese scholar also wrote about the same thing. In the incidents they record they are substantially in agreement; but the latter's account is of greater value to us since it has given us a greater wealth of details concerning events and places, enabling us to visualise and thoroughly understand the whole of the military transactions in Arakan. This account has now been translated and published for the first time in the hopes that a greater knowledge and appreciation of the subject may be achieved thereby. Maung Boon, the author, was a friend and tutor of Henry Hopkinson, the Commissioner of Arakan who succeeded Sir Arthur Phayre. His account is very concise and clear and distinguished by the absence of those extravagances sometimes indulged in by Arakanese historians of a former age.

I, Maung Boon, who am the tutor of Henry Hopkinson, the commissioner of Arakan, will here relate the history of the war between the East India Company and the Burmese.

In the Naaf River which forms the dividing line between the British and the Burmese territories, there lies a small island known as Shinmapru (Shapoori Island). The representatives of both the countries hotly disputed as to who should own this island. But owing to the extreme avarice and the unreasonable nature of the demands made by the Burmese Governor of Arakan, the two countries were compelled to resort to open hostilities. So with a view to invading Arakan the English sent their troops both by land and by sea. The officers who were concerned in the conduct of this invasion were General Morrison, Commissioner Robertson, Bo McKenzie, Bo Palin, Captain Pringle and others. Native troops of all descriptions were mobilised from places such as Madras, Calcutta, Benares, Bombay, Lucknow, and so on. They consisted of 13 platoons. There was also a company of Pioneers together with an Arakanese Contingent and Bengali coolies of all descriptions. The whole numbered about 100,000. There were also vessels of all kinds having one mast, two masts, stitched boats and so on numbering about 100. Those of the natives who accompanied the

* A copy is now in the R. B. S. library.—Ed.

English in this venture were from the Arakanese: Chowdhury¹ Maung Nyo, Chowdhury Chin Daung, Chowdhury Rai Hpaaw Thay, the former Governor of An, Governor of Thandaung, Teingyabo, Do Aung Gywe, Interpreter Thet Htin Pru, Aung Gyaw Rhi², Interpreter Rai Phwe, Interpreter San Ra Phaw, Interpreter Hla Phaw, and a Minister of the King of Tippiara whose name was Diwan Chitsuba. These men were ordered to accompany the English throughout the Province of Arakan, to Mrohaung, Ramree, Manaung, Sandoway etc. Beyond these limits also they were ordered to serve overseas in Rangoon, as well as to penetrate as far as the Burmese Capital of Ava. These remarks are merely general, but I will now relate the details concerning this War.

In the year 1184 (1822 A.D.), in the month of Nadaw, the Burmese Governor of Arakan ordered Bo Maung E and his assistant Maung Daw³ with 20 soldiers to occupy and guard the island of Shapoori⁴ belonging to the British. Gaung Zauk Ke, a servant of Chowdhury Maung Nyo who lived in the village of Sabyin, went in a boat loaded with paddy to trade with the village of Ramu. As he was passing through the channel between the Chittagong coast and the island of Shapoori he was fired at and killed by the Burmese outpost stationed on that island. When Gaung Zauk Ke died the crew of the boat abandoned it and ran away. When they reached home they reported the death of Gaung Zauk Ke to their lord. Whereupon Chowdhury Maung Nyo reported the matter to the Dowraga stationed to look after the country along the Naaf River. The Dowraga went to the scene of crime, and after examining the locality carefully, discovered the dead body of Gaung Zauk Ke. After having made plans of the locality very carefully the Dowraga reported the matter to the Magistrate at Chittagong. ဝဲနာဝဲနာဝဲ, the Magistrate at Chittagong, in his turn reported the matter to the Governor-General at Calcutta. After careful consideration he decided that the matter was one requiring serious consideration and that Robertson would be the most suitable person to cope with the matter. Accordingly, Robertson was sent to Chittagong, after being appointed a Magistrate and Collector of the place.

When Robertson arrived at Chittagong in the month of Pyatho of the same year he ordered a detachment of soldiers under the command

1. Landowners of Eastern Bengal were called by that name of which the Arakanese corruption is Thaw-da-ly (ထောင့်လီ)

2. For valuable services rendered he was subsequently made a Dewan. Some years later, being concerned in an attempted rebellion against the Company's rule, he was transported for life to the Island of Singapore. From there he wrote several letters to his family, in the form of verse (*Ratu*). They are in the translator's possession.

3. The present town of Maungdaw on the Arakan side of the Naaf river derived its name from this man. This town is now joined with Buthidaung by a light railway across the Mayu range.

4. This island is situated at the mouth of the Naaf river. In the old days it was separated from the Chittagong coast by a narrow channel. It is now entirely connected with the main land—only a trace of the channel remains. Some writers erroneously identify it with St. Martin's Island which is further out in the sea.

of Subadar Madowin to be stationed on the island of Shapoori. The Burmese under Bo Maung E and his assistant Maung Daw and followers numbering about 1000 came to the British outpost in the month of Ta-baung and attacked it. Jemadar Hari Singh and 10 men were captured and taken away to Burmese territory. As for the Subadar Madowin he escaped capture because he ran away in time. This Subadar reported the matter to the Dowraga at Tek Naaf. The Dowraga, in his turn, made a careful report of the incident and informed the Magistrate at Chittagong, Mr. Robertson, that not only were the men belonging to the outpost captured by the Burmese but that the latter were openly and actively showing that they meant to be hostile towards any body attached to the British. When the matter was finally reported to the Governor-General, he, knowing that the Burmese were very dishonest and crooked in their dealings, decided that they should be severely punished. With this end in view he ordered General Morrison to invade Arakan and to annex it to the British Dominions in India.

In the month of Pyatho of the year 1185, a large number of soldiers left Calcutta and passing through Chittagong stationed themselves at Ramu. These men stationed themselves very carefully, with defensive works, at the source of the Ramu creek. The advance post consisted of 80 men and 2 officers. Besides this, at a place called Santhwankan a similar outpost was also stationed. At another place called Re-ngan-don near Tek Naaf a similar outpost was also stationed. The Arakanese elders, such as the former Governors of An, Thandaung, Interpreters Aung Gyaw Rhi, Rai Hpaw, Chowdhury Chin Daung, Chowdhury Maung Nyo, Interpreter San Ra Phwe, Teingyabo and his assistant Aung Gywe, Bomin Ran Saik Aung were summoned before the Magistrate and were asked to supply the English with suitable men to serve in the expedition. So these elders went about collecting the most suitable men for the purpose, men who were primarily distinguished for their valour and bravery.

A complete platoon having been mobilised from amongst the Arakanese, the following men were appointed to serve as officers for them:—

Zaw Ge, Hta We, Myat Pyaw, Munita, Thauk Kra, Htwe San, Pha Htwe, They Hnan, and Shwe U.

The Arakanese contingent consisted altogether of 400 men. While the expedition was being planned and on the eve of departure, the Burmese Governor of Arakan having appointed Maung Loon as the officer in charge, sent a detachment of soldiers to station themselves at Maungdaw and to keep a guard along the frontier. Meanwhile the Governor sent the following letter to King Bagyidaw at Ava:—

I, Maung San Byaw, the Governor of Arakan, with deep respect and humility beg to make the following report:—

"The island of Shapoori which has by right belonged to the Kings of Burma for several generations past has now been forcibly occupied

by the British. They have not only done this but they are now contemplating an organised invasion of Arakan. We do not at present possess sufficient numbers to oppose this aggression, but if you wish your servant to subjugate these people and send them to Ava as your Majesty's humble slaves I beg of you to speedily send reinforcements from Ava."

King Bagyidaw having considered the matter very carefully, decided that the English were a people who never understood what precedent was, that they were a race who did not respect the old established laws of a country, and that they dealt crookedly in the ordinary transactions of life. So that if peace was to be attained in the future the best thing that could be done in the circumstances was to attack and take over Bengal from the hands of the English. With this end in view he summoned Mahā Bandoola to his presence and after explaining all the details of the affair in Arakan he appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the forces to be sent.

Accordingly Mahā Bandoola, accompanied by some distinguished officers such as Maung Khine, Maung Zan and so on, with upwards of 10,000 men came over to Arakan. But before this contingent arrived in Arakan, Maung Aung, the Governor of Sandoway, Re Hla, the Governor of Manaung, Maung Yin Galay, Governor of Ramree and Maung San Byaw, the Governor of Mrohaung, with 1000 men went and occupied the small island of Na-khaung-do near Maungdaw with the object of keeping careful watch over the frontier. Meanwhile the Governor of Lemro and others, wishing to gain time, represented matters to Robertson saying that from time immemorial Arakan and Bengal had always been friendly, that trade relations had always been established between the two countries from which both of them had always benefited. If, as now appeared, there were going to be hostilities between the two countries, it would greatly mar their future relations. They proposed that to avoid this shameful thing it would be best to talk over matters and settle them amicably.

Robertson, after consulting other people at Chittagong, agreed to the proposal to settle the dispute by arbitration and accordingly sent a trusty messenger to the Burmese. The matter contained in the letter was as follows:—

"The Burmese and the British have always been friends in the past. There should never be any obstacle to spoil this friendship and to interrupt the friendly commercial relation between the two people. I am very willing to talk over matters with this end in view. At the same time it is nothing but right that the island of Shapoori should be given over to the British. If this concession can be made, there is reason to hope that there can be no matter or cause of dispute between the two people." This letter was sent by the Burmese messenger Maung Nu who was kept waiting at Chittagong for the purpose.

When the Burmese officers received the reply they pretended to be satisfied with the proposals and sent the messenger back with a letter

notifying their consent. Robertson, believing the message, agreed to meet the Burmese officers at a conference and he accordingly set out to Naaf. At the conference the Burmese finally agreed that Shapoori Island should belong to the English and that the old trade relations between the two countries should continue on a firm basis, thereby promoting feelings of respect and honour towards each other. The meeting terminated on the 5th waxing of Tabodwe of the year 1185 B. E. On the eve of departure to their own homes the Burmese suggested that they should each burn their own defensive works as an indication of mutual trust. To this Robertson also agreed, and burnt his defensive works on the Shapoori Island. But the Burmese, instead of doing the same on their part, piled up great quantities of straw and set fire to them and thereby deceived the English. Robertson then withdrew his forces from the place and, on his return home, left behind an officer with 80 men to keep watch at Re-ngan-don (ရေငှက်). Besides this he retained the military outpost at Tsan-thwan-gan (ဆန်သွန်ဂန်) and Byinbu-taung which is at the source of Ramu creek. At Ramu itself the Arakanese levy, with upwards of 4000 others and a few officers (*names unrecognizable*) were left behind.

Robertson and the General went back to Chittagong with the remainder of the forces. Shortly after, 7 ships arrived from Bombay. Out of these a *jalia* with 3 cutters was stationed at Naaf River. The remainder of the vessels went on to Rangoon *via* Cheduba. Meanwhile the Burmese officers stationed at Maungdaw whose names were Nga San, Maung Lon and Maung E, repeatedly visited the British officers on board the ship guarding the channel at Shapoori Island. With presents and sweet words the Burmese made friends. After some time the Burmese invited these English officers to their own home, representing to them that they were very anxious to show them hospitality in their own fashion. The invitation being cordially accepted by the British, a day was fixed on which the visit was to be made. The Burmese returned to Maungdaw happily and when they arrived there they made preparations to arrest the English officers when they came. The unsuspecting officers, on the appointed day, wishing to keep their promise, went to Maungdaw. No sooner were they perceived from a distance than the Burmese leaders went out to meet them as a sign of true hospitality and reiterated their friendship and goodwill. While thus talking and laughing in friendly fashion, the English officers were led into the Burmese stockade. Immediately afterwards they and their followers were overpowered and disarmed. They were then severely bound together and sent to Maung San Byaw, the Burmese Governor of Mrohaung. The officers arrested were Chew and Ross and their followers.

On their arrival it was suggested to the Governor that if something could be done to the Captain by way of *Yadaya*¹ it would be impossible

1. This has been explained elsewhere in this number. See pp. 238, 239.

for the white *kalas* to conquer their country. The Governor was an ignorant and short-sighted man. He readily believed in the possibility of the suggestion and enquired how it could be done. His advisers informed him that in accordance with the ancient practice certain *mantras* should be repeated over them so as to make their natal star dwindle and so their power of victory. While these plans were being discussed the Minister of the Interior, Maung Zan, being appointed by Bandoola to post himself with some men at Aungdet¹, suddenly arrived. To this officer, therefore, the English captives were sent by the Governor. On enquiries being made as to the circumstances of their capture, the Minister Maung Zan severely blamed and scolded Maung San Byaw, the Governor of Mrohaung, for his act of treachery. He said, "Since at a former meeting with the English, you agreed to certain terms and promised to end the dispute definitely, you should not have done so disgraceful an act. You are positively base-born and a dishonourable man. You are now the sole cause and originator of the quarrel with the English because you have not only treacherously captured them but treated them with undue severity. I therefore order you to release them at once and treat them with proper respect and consideration until the arrival of Bandoola." Maung San Byaw did as he was ordered.

When Bandoola arrived at Aungdet, which is close to Mrauk-U (Mrohaung) he immediately ordered the English officers and their followers to be safely conducted to their ship in the Naaf River.

This was done on the 14th waning of Tabodwe of the year 1185 B.E. On their arrival the officers wrote to Robertson complaining about their treatment by the Burmese. When Robertson learnt the true facts of the case he wrote a report to the Governor-General to the effect that the Burmese were a dishonest, untruthful and promise-breaking people and that the previous agreement entered upon by them was made with a view to deceit.

Meanwhile, in the month of Tagu 1185 B.E. Bandoola ordered the Minister Maung Wa and the Governors of Mrauk-U, Sandoway, Ramree and Cheduba to march into the English territory, his object being to attack Chittagong. But Rai Hla, the Governor of Cheduba, informed Bandoola that he could not carry out the orders because in the channel that separated the island from the main land there were many war vessels of all descriptions belonging to the enemy. He was therefore excused and permitted to remain where he was. In the same way the Governor of Ramree excused himself and remained where he was after making his position as secure as possible against a likely attack. The remaining leaders concentrated their troops, which totalled about 15,000, and on the 8th waxing of Tagu of the year 1185 B.E. they occupied Shapoori Island and planted the Burmese flag on it.

1. This is the present landing stage of Mrohaung.

When the Commander of the British outpost stationed at Re-ngan-don on the Naaf saw what had been done, he reported the matter to Robertson. The latter then quickly informing the Governor-General sent a letter to the King at Ava in the following terms :—

“(1) British subjects within the British territory have been systematically ill-treated by Burmese officers.

(2) Shapoori Island has been unjustly claimed by the Burmese.

(3) Those who have been kept in official charge of Shapoori Island according to agreement, have been arrested and taken into captivity.

(4) With the object of settling the quarrel a sacred agreement had been entered upon between the two nations.

(5) The capture of officials who had been stationed to guard the channel at the mouth of the river.

(6) The planting of the Burmese flag on the Shapoori Island. Considering all the circumstances aforesaid it appears that the King of Ava, knowing full well the many dishonourable deeds committed by his officers in Arakan, did not check nor use sufficient control over them. Therefore it is justifiable to consider him as being a consenting party to those deeds. On the other hand, it is not due to the weakness of our armies that we are preserving silence. Our old friendship with the former kings of Burma has preserved our goodwill up to now. Our silence has been due to the desire to increase our mutual respect and goodwill and to preserve the lives of our fellow men from wanton destruction. While we have been calm and honourable, the Burmese have been shifty, inconsiderate, indiscreet and deceitful. They have totally disregarded the wisdom imparted by precedents. Their conduct resembles the case of a small fly or a bee who unhesitatingly and without fear attempts to drink up the whole ocean. Such is our message to the old King of Ava”.

When this letter reached the Burmese King he ordered the Governor of Pegu to reply in evasive terms which, for the most part, consisted of a tissue of lies. Meanwhile, on the first waning day of Tagu of the year 1185 B.E., Maung Wa, the Minister of the Interior, with the other high military officers, including Maung San Byaw, the Governor of Mrauk-U, was ordered to proceed to British territory with a force of 15,000 men. This force marched by way of Letwedet road on the Mayu and by way of Alethangyaw. When the Commander of the British troops at Re-ngan-don and the Chaungtha Bomin Pha-kya-kwa of the Myothit River heard of the Burmese advance, they immediately went to Ramu and reported the matter to Captain Pringle, who was in command of the Arakanese levy. The latter did not believe them and so his informers were ordered to be imprisoned for about 3 days.

On the 5th waxing of Kason of the year 1186 B. E. the Burmese army arrived at the British outpost at Santhwangan. When this news was reported to Captain Fringle, he and another officer (ဇောင်ရှ်လုပ်တောင်မှီ ၁၁၆၁) marched out to that place. With them they also took two elephants loaded with cannon. They came upon the Burmese army during the night at a place about 8 miles from Ramu. The Burmese immediately fired on the British and caused them to lose a cannon, which fell off one of the elephants. The Arakanese leaders, Ran Zaik Aung and Mra Phaw with 80 men, dashed into the Burmese lines and rescued the cannon. But on the following morning, seeing that they were getting the worst of the deal, the British fell back upon Ramu and further strengthened their defensive works. Meanwhile, the small garrisons stationed at other outposts came into the military base at Ramu. The Burmese remained to refresh themselves for 3 or 4 days at Santhwangan and advanced directly on Ramu. On the 10th waxing of Kason of the same year the Burmese reached the outskirts of Ramu and entrenched themselves at places known as Razabuk and Onkhali. Whereupon some of the Chittagonians and Arakanese ran away from Ramu and hid themselves in the jungle. Some remained behind consoling themselves with the assurance that the Burmese had never been able to defeat the British and that they would never do so. But there were others who went within the British fortifications determined to throw in their lot with the English whether they won or lost the contest. A few Chittagonians who had been forcibly deprived of their belongings by the Burmese deliberated among themselves whether they should complain of the matter to the English or not. While they were in this state of indecision, the Burmese burnt their houses and killed and consumed their cattle. As a result of this highhanded treatment the Chittagonians made a strong protest. Their only reward was the execution of 19 of their spokesmen. Seeing this, the remainder speedily dispersed in great confusion.

For about 3 days, the struggle continued between the English and the Burmese, after which it was made clear that the superiority of the latter was undoubted. Then the Arakanese leaders, namely the former Governor of An, Aung Gyaw, Bomin Ran Zaik Aung and an Arakanese Subadar approached Captain Pringle and suggested to him to remain within the fortifications with 500 Zaunggyi (ဇောင်ရှ်) soldiers and to allow the Arakanese levy and some others to sally forth and attack the Burmese. But Captain Pringle would not permit this. Consequently, the defenders being without food and water for 4 days, suffered great hardships. About 100 Zaunggyi soldiers were killed in the action. The Burmese also lost about 500 soldiers. But this loss made no impression on them because of their numerical superiority. In fact, on the 4th day of the struggle, the Burmese had more men than they had at the start because of reinforcements which arrived in quick succession. Fully realising the danger of their situation the Arakanese chiefs requested

1. Probably the commander of a platoon of soldiers carrying jingalls. Pa-lo k-taung (ပာလော့တောင်) is the Arakanese corruption of the word "platoon".

Captain Pringle to remove the non-combatants, consisting of men and women numbering about a thousand altogether, so that they might seek shelter elsewhere. Captain Pringle then ordered a slightly wounded Adjutant to take charge of these people and to place on two elephants Rs. 20,000, being the pay of the soldiers, and to escort them to some place out of harm's way, and then to return back to the fort. While these people were being escorted out of the fort by the Arakanese levy, the Burmese tried to intercept them by gun fire. Owing to this, about 100 men and women lost their lives. But the Arakanese levy with their precious charge forced their way through and managed to reach a place of safety. As they were about to return back to the fort it was ascertained that the English forces which remained behind, had been overwhelmed and killed by the Burmese. Only a young British officer managed to escape on horseback. Four British officers and 500 men lost their lives. When the Arakanese leaders came to know this, they considered that their return to the fort would be useless against such fearful odds, so on the full moon day of Kason of the year 1186 B. E. they marched back to Chittagong. On their journey, when they reached a place called Halabun, they lost an elephant which was killed by Burmese gunfire. They took the remaining elephant and the Adjutant safely into Chittagong. This catastrophe happened because the Burmese practised deceit. They first signed an agreement to end the quarrel, so as to throw off all suspicion; then like a thief in the night they suddenly mustered their force and attacked the English. Had they not done so they would never have been victorious. But the Burmese shamefully boasted that the victory was entirely due to their own invincible prowess. They remained entrenched at Ramu within their strong defensive works and then scoured the country for paddy, rice and other eatable things, which they accumulated in vast granaries.

When the Burmese thus took their station at Ramu the inhabitants of the surrounding country ran away for shelter by land and by sea to Chittagong.

While these things were taking place, Bandoola was suddenly recalled to Burma to oppose the British forces that had landed at Rangoon. So he immediately sent orders to the Commander of the Burmese forces in Chittagong to abandon the scheme of the conquest of Chittagong and to return with all his men into Burma. The Burmese, during their departure from Ramu, found that they had about 200 men who, owing to the wounds they had received, could not march back along with the main force. So, thinking that if they were allowed to remain in that place they would surely go into Chittagong and give information to the English, they killed these wretched soldiers to a man. The remainder then marched back towards Burma.

The first news of the Burmese retreat was sent on to Robertson by the people who had escaped from the hands of the Burmese. In addition to that, a Commander of a British vessel who had been stationed to

keep watch at the mouth of the Mahazo-River, also followed the Burmese retreat for some time, and when he had fully ascertained that they were marching back, he returned to Chittagong and informed Robertson about it. This same officer also went to Ramu and saw the scene of the last occupation of the place by the Burmese, who left behind all their stores of provisions.

Having taken an inventory of all the things left by the Burmese he sent it on to Robertson. Robertson then reported the full facts of the matter to the Governor-General at Calcutta. Meanwhile Robertson ordered the Commander of the vessel to return to Ramu and to distribute all the provisions left by the Burmese amongst the poor and needy inhabitants of the surrounding country who had suffered by the late Burmese aggression. He also ordered that all gardens and fields which had been destroyed by the Burmese be reconstructed and put into proper order, so as to make them useful and serviceable as before. From the month of Wagoung of the same year he ordered the leaders of the Arakanese as well as the Chittagonians to collect together boats of all descriptions. He said that he wanted boats varying from 13 fathoms in length to 15 fathoms, to the number of about 300. In the same year, from the month of Thadingyut, coolies and servants to the extent of 10,000 men were also collected from various places.

General Morrison received definite orders from the Governor-General that Arakan should be forthwith invaded and taken away from the Burmese. The necessary number of soldiers being collected together, consisting of a regiment of Zaunggyi, a regiment of British soldiers, and a regiment of Madras Infantry, over 10,000 in all, General Morrison ordered them to proceed by means of vessels in the month of Tazaungmon of the same year. These leaders arrived at Chittagong in the month of Nadaw of the same year. Robertson was also ordered to proceed to Arakan by overland route. About 200 Arakanese servants were also sent over to Rangoon to serve with the British forces. The British force under Morrison intended for the invasion of Arakan consisted of the following :—

1000 Madras soldiers, 600 Arakanese soldiers, 1000 British soldiers and 500 Cavalry. Besides these there were 10,000 other soldiers together with servants and coolies. This force marched in two divisions by land and by sea on the 11th waxing of Pyatho of the year 1186 B. E.

On the 12th waning of the same month, they arrived at Re-ngan-don on the Naaf. They remained there for about 10 days. Meanwhile the division that came along by water also arrived there. When the Burmese outposts, stationed at Maungdaw, Nakhoungdo and Letwedak saw the British forces in such great numbers, they got very greatly alarmed and were afraid to retain their positions and offer resistance. Just as the Nagas and other serpents are frightened by the sounds produced by the flapping of the wings of a *garuḍa* bird, so also the Burmese, rather than meet this fearful foe, ran away from their posts in great confusion.

The Arakanese who lived at Maungdaw were very glad to see this. They were also glad that a people who should be real rulers over them were now advancing to attack their country. So the elders among them collected together and went over to the English lines at Re-ngan-don, carrying with them valuable and suitable presents. On their arrival there they reported what had happened on the Burmese side. They also requested to be taken under British protection and to be permitted to serve them faithfully. But Robertson and the British officers were not quite willing to believe this report. So, to make things doubly sure, the Arakanese leaders from Maungdaw were imprisoned. Captain Dickenson, the officer-in-charge of the Arakanese levy, was then ordered to take about 1000 men and to march on to Maungdaw with the object of ascertaining the true facts of the matter. Dickenson took with him the followers of the Arakanese leaders who came over from Maungdaw to show him the proper way, and on the 2nd waxing of Tabodwe 1186 B. E. he marched to that place. When he reached there he found out definitely that the Burmese had abandoned the 3 outposts in question. On his return to the base he lost an elephant loaded with cannon by a fall from a hillside. When Robertson found out that the report was perfectly true he ordered a general advance on Maungdaw. They arrived at that place on the 10th waxing of Tabodwe of the same year and encamped there. Meanwhile a satisfactory road¹ was made through the jungles by the coolies consisting of Arakanese and Chittagonians, leading from Maungdaw to Angumaw². After the road was completed, the British force advanced by means of this road to Angumaw on the 5th waning of Tabodwe. Arriving there, they encamped again for some time. The division that went by river anchored off the mouth of the Kaladan. Captain Drummmond and a few others went out reconnoitring the place. When it was ascertained that there was a Burmese outpost at Sindetmaw³ they returned to their vessels and fired a few shots from their cannon towards this outpost. The Burmese garrison speedily abandoned their post in great confusion. The Thugyi of Peinnechaung⁴ was forcibly taken on board one of these vessels and, when the tide arose, the vessels weighed anchor and entered the Kaladan. The Peinnechaung Thugyi acting as their guide, the whole fleet advanced up the river and anchored off the coast of Urittaung⁵.

Meanwhile Robertson and his land forces encamped at Angumaw were rather anxious because they had not heard anything from the division that had left by water under General Morrison. So, with a view to finding out what the matter was they sent Fernandez (မောင်မောင်) and a few others to investigate. So Fernandez and his men crossed the Mayu

1. This road still exists. It runs along the foot of the Mayu range on the west.
 2. The most southerly point of the Mayu range which terminates at the mouth of the Mayu river. The dreaded Mayu nat has a stone shrine here.
 3. To the south east of Akyab across the river.
 4. A large village in the middle Borongas to the south east of Akyab.
 5. Opposite the town of Poonagyun, about 16 miles to the north of Akyab. It is so called because of a large stone pagoda in which, according to popular tradition, the skull of the Brahamin or Poona (the embryo Buddha) is supposed to be enshrined.

and by means of a small connecting creek they went towards Urittaung. When they arrived at the Urittaung Pagoda they were glad to see the British flag which was planted there by General Morrison's party anchored close by. So they hastened to that spot and having found some men, they were speedily taken to the General.

When the anxieties of Robertson and other officers were told to him, the General wrote a letter in which he explained everything and sent it back to Robertson. While Morrison was awaiting the arrival of Robertson and his land forces he ordered 10 vessels with 500 soldiers in all to investigate the Burmese positions on the river. This contingent arrived at Chaungphela¹ outpost. When the Burmese saw it approaching them they made preparations for defence. One of the three-masted vessels which went ahead of the rest got stranded in shallow water. The Burmese seeing this were very glad and they immediately opened fire on the attackers. The Commander of the vessel then gave orders to retaliate, but the British fire being a bit too high, the shots went over the Burmese. For this reason there was not much damage done to the Burmese outpost. As for the British, they lost two officers and four men by Burmese gunfire and over 30 were wounded. When the tide arose and the vessel floated once again, the British fire on the outpost took effect and wounded the Burmese Commander, Maung Lon, in his left arm. When this happened Maung San Byaw, Governor of Mrauk-u, and his followers ran away from the outpost. After this, the British returned, towing away the vessel that was stranded.

When Bandoola was suddenly summoned back to Burma he left behind his able assistant, Minister of the Interior, Maung Zan, as Commander-in-Chief of the Burmese forces in Arakan. As soon as the latter took charge, the first thing he did was to arrest Maung San Byaw, the Governor of Mrauk-u, and put him into jail for his cowardly desertion of the outpost at Chaungphela. But he did not remain in jail for long, for he was set at liberty after 3 days.

The Commander Maung Zan proceeded to supply the many outposts distributed about the country with sufficient quantities of arms and ammunition, and he strictly commanded that on no account should the Burmese soldiers retreat and that no quarter was to be given on their side.

The land forces under Robertson crossed over the Mayu and when they reached Kywekrantaung², they encamped there for the night. The next morning at about 6 a.m. they advanced on the Burmese outpost at Padaw³. As soon as they reached it, which was at half past one in the day, about 200 men attacked it vigorously and after half an

1. About 28 miles to the north east of Akyab. It lies on the direct launch route to Mrohaung.

2. Close to the Hinkoraw village about 25 miles to the north east of Akyab.

3. A small steep hill in the Mrohaung township. There is a small Pagoda on the top enshrining the cheek hairs of the Buddha and owing to that fact it is called Pa-mwe-daw-dat

hour's fighting, the Burmese completely abandoned their outpost. As soon as it was taken the British column remained there for a short time and advanced northward to Ziza, where they encamped for the night. On the 8th waxing of Tagu of the same year the British soldiers, the Arakanese levy and the Madras Infantry joined forces and together marched on to Mahati¹. But when they reached the Mahati stream which separated them from the Pagoda itself it was found impossible to ford it owing to the high tide. After waiting there for about 2 hours, the waters subsided and they easily forded it and then immediately marched on to the attack of the Burmese outpost around the Pagoda. The Burmese were terribly alarmed, and without the British having to fire a shot, ran away in great confusion. The running away of the Burmese resembled the stampede of all forest-dwelling animals when they suddenly meet face to face the awful majesty of the Kesaraza Lion. The cowardly conduct of the Burmese subsequently provoked much laughter in the British camp. When the British held Mahati they wantonly did much damage and destruction to the Mahati pagoda and other surrounding religious buildings. Indeed the British military commander actually lived inside the image shrine for the time being. About 10 Burmese soldiers were found hiding there. They were arrested and taken as prisoners. From Mahati, the column advanced further north, and when they arrived at the Paungdok Plain they encamped there, waiting for the approach of the rest of the force from which they had separated.

When the main body had come up and joined the advance column that was waiting on the plain of Paungdok, they paused for a while to deliberate as to the best method of attacking the formidable city of Mrauk-u, which was surrounded by three rows of stone walls.

The elaborate preparations carefully thought out for the achievement of this object resembled somewhat the plans adopted by the Thagyamin on the eve of the great struggle between his mighty army and that of the Asuras. (*Here the author goes into a great deal of unnecessary details describing the uniforms of the various regiments employed in the attack on Mrohaung*). The troops that took part in this attack consisted of the following:—

A company of the Arakanese levy, a company of the Madras Infantry, two companies of British soldiers, two companies of Zaunggyi soldiers and 300 Pioneers with scaling ladders. The first attack was made on the eastern gate of the city known even to this day as Kwanze-paungwa. It was made on the 10th waxing of Tagu of the same year at 5 in the morning before dawn. So stout was the resistance offered by the Burmese and so great was the difficulty of the situation, that the attack proved unsuccessful. The British suffered a severe reverse here.

1. Mahati shrine was put up by King Kaulya of the Parin dynasty about the middle of the 12th century. Its name is derived from Mahā Thera (the disciple Ananda) who in a former existence is supposed to have lived there.

Two Cavalry soldiers, 300 Madras soldiers, 20 Zaunggyi soldiers, 3 British soldiers, and 2 Uria soldiers lost their lives. As for the Arakanese levy, only the Commanding Officer and 100 men escaped entirely without a scratch. Seeing that any further attack on the Burmese position would be fraught with serious consequences to themselves, the British Commander ordered a retreat and the entire force fell back upon the Paungdok plain. The reason why the Burmese got the better of the deal in this transaction was because Maung San Byaw, the Governor of the city, and his son Maung Whike Kay were placed to defend this gateway, and being persons of the greatest authority in the city they were able to collect together in their service the pick of the Burmese soldiers at Mrauk-U.

At the southern gateway known, as Naw-hle-taung Gate, Bo Mahazeta was placed in command. On the western side of the city at a place called Sabaseik or Babutaung¹, Sikè Naymyo-Alan-Kyaw-zaw and Maung Lon were placed in command. On the north of the city at the gateway close to the Shitthaung temple Naymyo Thiha was placed in command. Mingyi Maha-thiha-thu Maung Zan, the Burmese Commander-in-chief, and Maha Minhla-raza Maung Khine as second in command, stationed themselves on the top of Sangataung hill and directed the defensive operations of the city. As for the British, after passing a night on the plain of Paungdok, early next morning, the Commander summoned Robertson and the other officers to a consultation. That day the only thing which the British did was to detach a party of men to station themselves some distance away from the eastern gate and to keep up a desultory fire. They were strictly ordered not to approach close enough to be harmed in any way. This idea was simply to deceive the Burmese. Thus they spent another night during which they put up a large mound of earth, which was about 15 to 20 cubits in height. On this they mounted a cannon and kept it ready for the morrow. The next day they fired it towards the place where the Burmese Commander-in-chief was stationed. As the shot fell very close to that officer the Burmese were thoroughly alarmed. So they hauled down a very large cannon known as Mingala Praung from the top of Lwantaung², which had been placed there ever since the time of the Arakanese kings. This cannon was conveyed with great difficulty to the hill known as Lethataung close to the eastern gate. When they found that it could not be mounted on the top of this hill, the majority of the soldiers defending the eastern gate were called away to assist in the work, leaving behind only a few men to guard it. On the evening of that day the British Commander summoned the Arakanese chiefs and

1. Under the Arakanese regime all produce of land such as rice, cotton etc. was sold and exported under the direction of a controller who was called "Babu". His principal function was to see that foodstuffs did not leave the country in such abundance as to create a condition of scarcity in the land. Hence the well known saying ဗါးဘုရားလှိုင်ဆန်ရှိလှိုင် (The presence of Babu means the presence of rice) meaning, the country could never suffer famine as long as the Babu was present. This official had his residence at the foot of the hill to which his name is imparted.

2. A small hill immediately outside the palace walls. It is a continuation of the hill on which the palace is built. In Arakanese times a large drum (Baho Si) was kept here also.

asked them the best way of attacking the city. Whereupon, the former Arakanese Governors of An and Thandaung, and Chowdhury Maung Nyo made enquiries amongst the rest of the Arakanese, and having found some men who had intimate knowledge of the city defences owing to their frequent dealings with the Burmese, took them to the presence of the British Commander. After they had presented these men with suitable presents in accordance with Eastern custom, they were closely questioned regarding the city. They informed the General that because the city of Mrauk-U was surrounded by three walls it was not a very easy task to take it by assault. The only method by which this object could be achieved with comparative ease was to scale the Lethataung hill which was to the west of the Eastern Gate and to launch a vigorous attack on that position. They said that it was the only place possible, failing which they could not think of any other place which should offer them better advantages. Hearing these words the General at once decided to make a vigorous effort to capture this hill. So accordingly a British officer with 80 British soldiers accompanied by fifes and drums scaled up the side of Lethataung hill at about one o'clock in the night. They were guided by an Arakanese named Mo-reik-ke. Fortunately for the British the Burmese Commander and his men happened to be very tired. They were in the middle of a heavy slumber owing to the fatigue of the previous few days. Besides, the scaling party did their work so silently that the Burmese were completely surprised. A good number of them lost their lives in the sudden onset while the remainder ran away in great confusion. As soon as the British found themselves masters of the hill, the fifes and drums suddenly struck up a brisk tune and the men with one accord raised up shout after shout. So sudden was the noise and so great was the confusion among the Burmese soldiers, that all those who were within the city, woke up from their sleep. Their first thoughts were that the British had entered the city and were marching upon them to mete out severe punishment. In a moment there was great confusion, everybody left his home with any property he could get hold of and attempted to leave the city without further loss of time.

When the British General and all those who were left outside the city gate heard of the great confusion prevailing in the city, they knew at once that the Burmans and other inhabitants were trying their best to abandon the place. The Commander ordered his men not to enter the city but to wait outside and abide their time. Some Burmans ran away through the gateway near the Shitthaung temple. Some ran away by way of the road that led along the foot of the Thingyettaw pagoda¹. Others ran away by the high road that led to the Mahamuni temple. This desertion of the city continued from about one o'clock on Thursday night till about noon on the following day. This general stampede

1. About six miles to the north of Mrohaung, on the direct road to Mahamuni. At this place the road bifurcates. One branch leads along the foot of the hills. The Arakanese records state that in the 11th century Anawratha Zaw of Pagan tried to take away the frontal bone relic supposed to be enshrined here; but being unsuccessful he only took away images of gold and silver.

resembled the panic among the Nagas caused by the hearing of the sound produced by the flapping of the wings of the garuḍa¹ bird. It also resembled the panic among the Gandharvas² caused by an angry glance of King Wethawanna³ (Vaiçravaṇa) who is one of the four guardian kings of the world. (*His other name is Kubera. He is the regent of the north*). Thus were the Burmese and the Arakanese inhabitants of Mrauk-u brought to great hardships and tribulations. (*Here the author indulges in a series of flattering parallels between the power, glory and might of British armies and warriors of the invincible Thagayamin. Since it is directly unconcerned with the present narrative these word-pictures have been omitted.* Translator.)

As soon as it was ascertained that the city was well-nigh deserted the Commander gave orders to his troops not only to open the city gates and enter therein, but he also gave up the whole city to the tender mercies of his soldiers for three whole days within which they were permitted to take for themselves anything that they desired or could lay their hands upon. On the fourth day it was ordered that nobody should touch anything on pain of severe punishment. After this, by beat of drum throughout the city it was notified for public information that (1) any body who takes for his own purpose the wives and daughters of the people without their consent, shall be most severely punished, (2) all those people left behind should enter their own houses and dwell at peace without any restraint or fear, (3) all those people in disobedience of these orders who hide in the jungles and the hills, will be searched out by the soldiers and brought into the city under arrest. No subsequent denial will be of any avail.

When the people heard these orders they all returned to their homes and followed their usual pursuits. As for the Burmese officials and people, some of them returned to Burma by way of the Lemro river and through the Sedoktara Pass across the Yomas. Some returned to the city of Mrauk-u and occupied their own homes. As soon as it was known throughout the country that the city of Mrauk-u had fallen into the possession of the British, the elders of the villages came into the city from all directions bearing presents to the British Commander, and at the

1. Garuḍa belongs to the sixth class of demigods. He is the King of birds and a deadly enemy of the snakes. He kills and injures the Nagas wh never he can.

2. Gandharvas or Kinnaris belong to the fourth class of demigods. They are the musicians of Sakra, who join with their master to serve and worship Buddha. They are represented with a human bust on the body of a bird; their wives are the Apsaras, their chief Chitraratta or Supriya, and they are attendants of Dhritarashtra (Dhatarattha), guardian of the east.

3. In Buddhist mythology, the mountain Meru, in the centre of the universe, is guarded by four "heroic-like" kings of the demons. These are:—(1) *Kubera*, *Kuvera* or *Vaiçravaṇa*, also called *Dhanada*, *Dhanapati*, *Yaksha-rāja*, etc., the Hindu Pluto or the god of wealth; he is the regent of the North, and his attributes are—a pike with a flag, and a rat or mongoose that vomits jewels; his colour yellow. (2) *Virudhaka*, the ruler of the South and chief of the *Kumbhāṇḍas*, his attributes being a helmet of the skin of an elephant's head and a long sword; his colour green. (3) *Virupaksha*, the red king of the West and ruler of the Nagas, whose attributes are a jewel and a snake. (4) *Dhritarashtra* (*Dhatarattha*), guardian of the East.

same time they took their oath of allegiance. The British Commander and Robertson then gradually restored peace among the people. The Arakanese levy was stationed near the Shitthaung temple. The Zaung-gyi soldiers were placed near the tree which is the abode of the Mrauk-u nat, the Guardian Deity of the city. The British soldiers were placed within the palace enclosure. Then the middle of the inner walls of the city was ordered to be pulled down. There were also some troops stationed to occupy the foot of the Babutaung hill.

In the year 1146 B. E., when the Burmese had conquered Arakan, they built on the top of Shwekutaung, which is to the north-east of the palace, a small pagoda called Aung-zedi¹ in commemoration of their conquest of Arakan. This pagoda was pulled down, and in its place a temporary court house was built in which Robertson took his residence and transacted business at the same time. The interpreter Aung Gyaw Rhi, who accompanied the British force from Chittagong, was appointed Dewan. The former Governor of An was also appointed a revenue officer of Mrauk-u. Besides these, all the other Arakanese elders who came along from Chittagong with the British, were also given suitable appointments.

From the time of the first occupation of Mrauk-u till the month of Wazo of the year 1187 B. E., great sickness prevailed in the city and many soldiers, numbering over 1000, succumbed to it. When all these arrangements were completed, Robertson appointed Charles Paton to be Governor of Mrauk-u and then marched on to the island of Ramree.

This ends the first part of the British operations in Arakan describing the fall of Mrauk-u.

In *Part II*, I will now relate the history of the capture of the island of Cheduba by the English East India Company.

As has already been stated, Min-re-hla, the Governor of Cheduba, remained behind in his charge superintending the fortifications of the place against a possible attack by the British. Meanwhile, Baung-lan Wun, who had been sent by Bandoola with a Burmese contingent, joined him there, and between the two of them they had carried out great improvements to the defences and gave an increased sense of security to the people. Meanwhile the British vessels from India arrived off the coast of Cheduba and anchored in the channel separating the island from the main land. General Morrison, wishing to find out the best places for anchorage along the coast of the island, sent a small vessel with an officer and 2 guns in the guise of a merchant. Min-re-hla, the Governor of Cheduba, being completely deceived, believed that the man was a real merchant, and having gladly accepted presents, entertained him suitably

1. In addition to this pagoda the Burmese also built a small Pitakat Taik, a library for the reception of sacred works in Pali and Burmese. Near by are the graves of British soldiers who succumbed to the awful climate. Unfortunately they are no longer marked, though the locality is well known to the present inhabitants.

and allowed him to depart. The officer, before he returned, took careful notes and made careful plans regarding the approaches to the island and the defences within it. Having learnt all these facts in detail, in the year 1186 B.E., on the 8th waxing of Kason, General Morrison ordered the vessels to approach the island without hesitation. From about 6 a. m. till about 2 p. m., the island was bombarded incessantly. The British soldiers entered the city through the north gate and the Madras Infantry through the east gate, fighting their way in the whole time. The Burmese, finding themselves unable to withstand the British attack, abandoned the place and ran away from the city. The Burmese lost in men and women over 1000 people. There were over 500 wounded. The British lost over 200 and over 30 were wounded. Min-re-hla, the Governor of Cheduba, was captured. After the capture of Cheduba, the inhabitants of the place were treated kindly so as to win their confidence. Moreover, they were permitted to dwell in their own homes in peace and without further molestation. The British forces then encamped at Cheduba, while Min-re-hla, the Governor of Cheduba, together with his wife and children were sent to the Governor-General at Calcutta. This is the end of *Part II* wherein is described the siege and capture of Cheduba. The history relating to the siege and capture of Ramawaddy or Ramree will now be related.

Bandoola also sent one Palaung Siké at the head of a Burmese contingent to garrison Ramree. On his arrival, he consulted Maung Yin Galay, the Burmese Governor of Ramree, regarding the details of the defences. It was then decided that 500 soldiers should be stationed at Kyaukchaung village. 500 soldiers were stationed at Aung-hla-maw. 500 soldiers armed with fire-arms were stationed at the left bank of the entrance to the Tanchaung creek. On the right bank of the same creek 1000 soldiers were stationed. These were the various outposts defending the approaches to the city, where the main body remained behind strong fortifications. Meanwhile, General Morrison, who was in occupation of Cheduba, sent 3 ships and 3 cutters with 500 men under the command of a British officer to attack the Burmese outpost at Aung-hla-maw. This was carried out on the 12th waxing of Nayon in the year 1106 B. E. The Burmese at first offered a stout resistance, but eventually they were defeated and the position was abandoned.

The officer-in-charge of the outpost reported the disaster to the Commander at Ramree. Whereupon, the latter and the Governor marched out with 1000 men and opposed the British advance. This time, superior numbers prevailed and the small British force had to retreat. On the 2nd waxing of Wazo of the same year, another attack was launched on the Burmese by way of Remyat Chaung creek. On this occasion also 500 men were employed. On landing, the men had to pass through a mangrove swamp in deep mud. Thus, tired and dejected, they met the Burmese and were driven back. At this venture, the British left behind a wounded officer and 10 men killed. Anazī, the interpreter

who guided the force on this expedition, was suspected of treachery because it was subsequently found that he had secret relations with the Burmese. He was therefore sent under arrest to Calcutta. As for the British, they remained on the islands of Cheduba and Sagu without doing anything further. But, in the meantime, so great was the power and glory of the British and their lucky star being in the ascendant, the Burmese, though they were within strong fortifications abandoned Ramree and ran away into Burma. When this happened, Maung Shwe Baw, the most influential resident of the place, having told the people not to have any fear, succeeded in restoring peace and order in the capital as well as in the surrounding country. He then wrote a long letter explaining the whole situation, and invited the British to take possession of the place. Moreover, he stated that the people were all willing to serve the British and to take the oath of allegiance. This letter was sent by the Arakanese elders Thale, San Ra Phwe, Mootha, Pha Rhee and a Mahomedan by name Abdulla. When Robertson received this message he would not believe it at first, but due enquiries having proved the accuracy of the information, he, with a force of about 700 men, entered Ramree and took possession of the place without opposition, on the 4th waxing of Kason of the year 1187 B. E. at 8 a. m. Captain Phillips was then appointed Governor of the district to restore law and order and to administer the country. *Part III* of the history, relating to the siege and capture of Ramree is here ended.

Part IV. The history relating to the siege and capture of Dwara-waddy (or Sandoway) will now be related.

In the same way, Min Maung Aung, the Governor of Sandoway, after having strengthened the defences of the city, stationed 500 soldiers at Khamaung-don. The same number of soldiers were stationed at Sinkhaung-wa and at Pai-re. In spite of all these warlike preparations the British stationed at Sagu Island showed no concern whatsoever. The Burmese then abandoned the city and ran away into Burma in the month of Kason of the year 1187 B. E. The British then entered Sandoway and took possession of it. Captain Dalgatty was appointed Governor of the district. This is the end of *Part IV*, being the history relating to the siege and capture of Sandoway.

The history relating to the war between the Company and the Burmese in Burma and the taking over of that country, has already been made known by the historians of Moulmein¹.

This history of the war in Arakan was written by Saya Maung Boon at the request of Henry Hopkinson, the Commissioner of Arakan, in the year 1210 B. E. (1848 A. D.)

1. This undoubtedly refers to a work in Burmese which was first published anonymously at Moulmein in 1838. A copy of this is now in the translator's possession.

FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN. IV.

Ngan-daw-shay Watthu *or* The Story of the Hamadryad.

BY SAN SHWE BU.

Long, long ago there lived a widow whose worldly possessions consisted only of three beautiful daughters. Although she was very very poor she would not permit any of her daughters to do any form of manual labour, for she considered it far too rough for the girls who were in every way suited to become the brides of grandees and princes. So allowing them to idle away their time at home, the women used to set out alone every day, either to gather firewood in the forest or to catch fish in the river. Life was indeed hard for her, but she felt it not. For her sole care was to promote the comfort and happiness of her daughters in whose high destiny she had the utmost confidence.

One day she took down her wicker basket to the river to catch fish. After several hours of patient toil she did not succeed in catching any. But on the last attempt, instead of a fish, a hamadryad entered the basket. She cursed her bad luck and the snake at the same time. So intending to kill the reptile later on she carried it home. When she got there she placed the basket in a corner and went about her other business. Meanwhile the snake silently slid out of the basket and got into a large earthen jar of condiment. When the woman returned to the basket later on she could not find the snake, and thinking it had left the house she dismissed it altogether from her thoughts.

Some days afterwards the woman went up to the jar with the object of taking out some condiment, and as she dipped her hand into it, the snake coiled itself so tightly round the hand that she could not pull it out again. So in her extreme fear and pain she thus spoke to the snake :

Worthy snake, if you desire
To wed my eldest daughter,
Loosen your coils !

In reply the snake tightened its coils more than before. Again she spoke :

Worthy snake, if you desire
'To wed my younger daughter,
Loosen your coils !

In reply the tightness increased all the more. Then for the third time she said :

Worthy snake, if you desire
To wed my youngest daughter,
Loosen your coils !

Immediately after this the coils fell off and she was free.

Night having set in, the good woman prepared a room and told her youngest daughter to sleep in it with the snake who, from that time forward, should be looked upon as her legitimate husband. So the poor girl entered the bridal chamber in fear and trembling, and awaited the coming of her reptilian husband with resignation. After a little while she saw him gliding into the room; but to her great joy and astonishment she saw that as soon as he reached her bed the snaky skin peeled off from his body, transforming him into a marvellously handsome youth. Now, as a matter of fact, he was no snake at all, but was in reality a very powerful *nat* who went about disguised as a snake. Every night in the privacy of his own room he became a young man, though from early morning till the following night he roamed about the house as a snake.

Meanwhile the girl appeared to be perfectly satisfied and happy with her lot. She neither complained nor uttered a word of protest. Her elder sisters wondered a great deal as to how she could possibly put up with a husband who was a loathsome, slimy reptile. Unable, therefore, to restrain their curiosity any longer, they one day asked the girl the cause of her apparent happiness. "You think," she answered, "that my husband is a snake. You are quite mistaken. When he is with me in the night he is a very handsome youth. I love him very much, and as he loves me in return I am very very happy indeed." The eldest then said, "My dear sister, if such be the case you are really most fortunate. Would it not be better for you and all of us as well, if he remained a human being the whole time? If you will faithfully carry out my instructions your husband need never be a reptile again. He will always be a handsome youth to be loved, honoured and obeyed. So follow me closely. To-night when he has cast off his skin you must suddenly roll about the bed with a bad stomach-ache. Then uttering deep groans you must ask him to make up a fire in the room. And when you have succeeded in sending him out of the room on some excuse you must quickly get out of bed and throw the cast-off skin into the fire. If you act as I tell you, you will secure a husband to be proud of always."

The time for action having arrived, the girl carried out her instructions faithfully—She had the fire made up, and then on same excuse she asked her husband to leave the room. As soon as he was well away she quickly threw the discarded skin into the fire and destroyed it completely. No sooner had she done this than her husband ran into the room, breathing heavily. At the same time he kept on repeating these words, "Oh I am burning, I am burning," and rolled about in bed in great agony. But as soon as the fire subsided his pain ceased altogether. His wife then told him what she did with the snake skin and the reasons which actuated her to it. For his part, though he had suffered great pain, he was extremely glad at all that had happened, both for the sake of his wife as well as for the sake of her relatives.

Finding himself now an all-time human being so to speak, he began to think a great deal about his future home and family. He

determined to move out of his mother-in-law's house as soon as possible. So, being a *nat*, he caused a beautiful palace to be built in the course of a single night. He then fitted it up with all sorts of provisions so as to last for several months. When these were completed he told his wife that he was setting out on a long voyage to distant lands for purposes of trade. She was requested to occupy the house and never to leave it for a moment during his absence, lest some harm should befall her and the child to be born a few months hence. All the necessary arrangements being made, he set sail on a great ship filled with merchandise.

Meanwhile her good fortune aroused the envy of her sisters who, from the day she occupied the palace, thought of nothing else but how to accomplish her ruin and then occupy her position. So one day they went to her and said, "Dear sister, we are going to the river to catch fish. It will be a good thing for you to accompany us, for it will provide you with amusement and profit." "I have plenty of fish in the house," she said, "and I do not wish to go out with you." A few days later they went to her again and said, "Dear sister, will you come with us to the riverside to break firewood? We are informed that there is plenty to be had there at this time of the year." But she again told them that she already had a great quantity in store and that she did not care about accompanying them. Baffled in their attempt to entice the girl away from the house, they left her in peace for a few days. Then for the third time they approached her again: "Dear sister," said they, "when you were young you used to be very fond of the swing. Come let us amuse ourselves again just to remind us of old times. There is a very nice one down by the river side, placed beneath shady trees. The gentle breezes blow regularly there during the day and we ought to have a very enjoyable time of it."

Having these words the poor girl entirely forgot her own condition. Gone also were her husband's parting instructions in the childish eagerness to amuse herself on the swing and to revive the pleasant memories of days gone by. She readily fell in with the proposal of her sisters and accompanied them to the riverside. Each sat on the swing in turn, which the other two pushed from the back. When it came to the youngest's turn to take the seat, her elder sisters pushed it so vigorously from behind that the poor girl was flung out from it to a distance of about half the river's width.

But fortunately for her, when this event was taking place, a great big stork and his wife were watching it from their nest which was on a large tree on the opposite bank. And just as the girl was about to fall into the water they swooped down and caught her upon their interlaced wings. She was then gently carried to their nest and watched over by the birds with all the loving care and attention they were capable of bestowing. As for her two wicked sisters, they were thoroughly convinced of the girl's death and accordingly they returned to the palace and duly installed themselves as its mistresses.

In due course the girl gave birth to a son. The stork and his wife were very happy about it, and they even went so far as to regard the child as their own. One day the child became unusually restless and he would not sleep at the proper time. He cried so much that the mother could not quiet it by simple devices which only a mother knows how to employ. So in order to make the child fall off to sleep she began chanting these simple words,

Son of the Hamadrayad,
How beautiful thou art!
Sleep, beloved, sleep!

When the stork heard this he became very angry. "If you do not say," said he, "that he is my son I shall surely kill him by digging my beak into his body." So the poor frightened girl had to appease the bird by changing her words to this effect,

Son of the mighty stork,
How beautiful thou art!
Sleep, beloved, sleep!

The bird was very pleased at this, and from that day used to fly away in search of food with a lightness of heart it never felt before. But all the same whenever the bird was away she took good care to repeat the original lullaby, for she derived much solace from even the bare mention of her absent husband.

Several months passed away with unchanging routine in this simple household. One fine morning a beautiful white ship entered the harbour and cast its anchor close to the bank where the tree was situated. It contained the merchant, the girl's husband, who had just returned from his successful trading venture. Just then the birds happened to be away, and the girl being eager to put the child to sleep began her lullaby as usual,

Son of the Hamadryad,
How beautiful thou art!
Sleep, beloved, sleep!

The merchant heard, and thrilled at the voice which he distinctly recognised as that of his wife, he wondered how she could ever have got there, sitting in the nest on the top of a great big tree. So he quickly had himself rowed ashore in order that he might investigate things for himself.

Meanwhile the girl was sublimely ignorant of what was taking place around her and beneath her; and she went on with her consoling lullaby. As the merchant approached the tree he felt certain of his wife's voice. To climb it and to sit on the rim of the nest next to his beloved was the work of a few moments only. In his eagerness and surprise he questioned her very closely as to how she happened to be there and what really took place during his absence. With tears in her beautiful eyes she told him everything, reproaching herself not a little

for her disregard of his wishes which enjoined her not to leave the house under any excuse. He comforted her as well as he could and said that she was not to blame as she had been the victim of a foul plot. Just as he was about to come down to make arrangements for conveying her home, the birds returned and angrily demanded of him the reason for his presence there. The merchant told them about his having cast anchor near the bank and how he heard a familiar voice from the tree-top, which on investigation proved to be that of his own dear wife. He further said that he was taking her home in his ship on the following day.

At this news the birds were horrified; they could not even bear the thought of a temporary separation from their beloved ones, leave alone this suggestion to take them away for good. So the male bird said, "I have not the slightest doubt that this girl is your legitimate wife. But since we have cared for her and her baby as though they were our own children, our affection for them has become very deep and lasting. Can you therefore blame us if we should now raise any objection to your taking them away? However, strong as our claims to them are, we fully recognise them to be subordinate to yours. So to compensate us for the trouble of caring for them and for the pain of separating from these dear ones, you must give us such a pile of fish as will be equal to the weight of this very tree. You may then take your wife and child away. Otherwise I shall see that they do not move out of this nest."

When the merchant heard these words he readily promised to perform this task. Of course he was a *nat*, and as such he had resources at his command to accomplish things which to an ordinary mortal would be quite impossible. The first thing he did was to dry up the river by his merest wish. The fishes thus left exposed were then collected together by the sailors who piled them up alongside the tree. As soon as the required height was reached he caused the water to reappear, and the river flowed on as usual in its tranquil course. Having completed this task to the entire satisfaction of the stork and his wife, the merchant transferred his own family to the ship and sailed for home at the first favourable opportunity.

During the journey he put his wife and child into a large wooden box so as to conceal them from her sisters, who he heard were now occupying the house. When he reached home he had this large box taken into his own room and ordered the sisters to fetch him his meals every day. As soon as he was left alone he used to let his wife out and share the meals with her. Then he used to put them back when the time came for her sisters to retire for the night.

In this way several days passed, Meanwhile the sisters told him a very wild story of how their dear sister, his first wife, lost her life; and how they were now trying their best to console him for his loss. But

whenever the merchant and the two sisters were found conversing together, a crow used to alight on a near by window-sill and say :

Fools and knaves are men and women born ;

Their like who ever saw ?

Him they stole, and her they left forlorn—

Caw ! Caw !

When at last these cries became too frequent the merchant made up his mind to punish the culprits and to teach them a severe lesson for their wickedness. To bring this about he ordered a feast to be prepared consisting of rare and costly delicacies. Several people, with their families, were then invited to it. In the evening when the guests were all seated round the table the merchant in pretence loudly bemoaned the absence of his dear lost wife. Of course, naturally, his friends sympathised with him and pressed him for fuller details of the sad bereavement.

Then turning to his sisters-in-law he addressed them thus, "My dears, since both of you were present at the time of the accident to my late wife, you will be more competent than I to relate the whole story in all its details. Will one of you therefore kindly oblige the company ? As for myself I cannot bear to hear it again ; so by your permission I shall leave the room for a little while." So saying, he immediately went up to his bedroom and opened the box. He hastily explained everything to his wife and told her to follow him with her child in her arms.

When they reached the threshold of the banqueting hall the story was almost finished ; the whole company mutely attentive ; only the speaker's voice rose and fell in pleasing modulation. Then as the story ended, husband and wife abruptly entered the room. When the guests saw the girl in flesh and blood, the men rose from their seats in astonishment ; the women shrieked. But the effect on the two sisters was most disastrous. For as soon as they saw their sister alive and well, and standing by the side of her husband, they were so overcome with grief and shame that they died in their seats. From this time forward husband and wife lived happily in mutual love and sweet fellowship, blessed by numerous children, who, they fondly hoped, would one day be the solace and support of their old age.

But my story is not yet ended. Just have a little more patience and listen to what happened to another party. In the same town there also lived an old woman with an only daughter. When she heard that a snake became a human being on marrying a poor girl on whom he was able to shower untold riches, she immediately thought of trying the same experiment on her daughter. So after searching for several days she managed to find a large snake which was a real boa-constrictor. This she took home and placed in a room specially prepared for the occasion. In the night she sent in her daughter to sleep with it, fervently praying for the same good fortune as that of her fellow towns-woman.

A few hours later the boa, in obedience to its own natural instinct, began to swallow the girl. When the process reached as far as the ankles the poor trembling girl shouted out these words to her mother, "Oh mother, what have you done to me? My ankles are already imprisoned by the snake." The foolish old woman replied, "My daughter, have patience, your husband is only putting on your anklets." Then after a little while the girl again cried out, "Oh mother he has come as far as my waist. Do come and help your daughter." To this the mother replied, "My daughter I am sure he is only putting on your *tamein* (skirt). So don't be frightened." After this there was silence for some time. Then in the stillness of the night an agonising cry rang out again, "Oh mother, he has come right up to my neck. For pity's sake save me before it is too late." The mother's only reply was, "Keep quiet, my girl, he is only putting on your necklace."

The next morning there was profound silence in the bridal chamber. The old woman could not make out why it was so. The sun having risen somewhat high, she felt a little anxious because of the continued stillness in the room. So with a heavy heart she went to find out things for herself. On entering the chamber the old woman was horrified to find that her daughter was no more, and on the bridal couch she saw the snake fully stretched out, with a bloated stomach, calmly sleeping off the effects of the full meal it had enjoyed the night previous. Then and then only did she feel sorry for what she had done. And the thought of her evil deed continued to oppress her heart till the end of her life.

This story is a fit lesson for all those who are cursed with an envious disposition. So that for such people, whenever they are assailed by the longings of avarice, it would be well to think of this envious and greedy old woman and her son-in-law the boa-constrictor.

SAN SHWE BU.

Proceedings of the Society

The 11th Meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee was held at the Bernard Free Library on Sunday, the 16th September 1923 at 8 a.m.

PRESENT.

U Po Byu (in the chair)
U Tin (2), K. S. M., A. T. M.
U Po Sein, A. T. M.
Saya Pwa
Saya Lin
Saya U Saw Kywe
Maung Tun Pe
Mr. A. Cassim } Joint Honorary Secretaries.

MINUTES.

1. In the absence of the President, U Po Byu was voted to the chair.

2. Confirmed the Minutes of the 10th Meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee held on the 28th January 1923.

3. (i) Appointed U Tin (2), K. S. M., A. T. M., to be the editor of the Ummadanti Pyo with the assistance of U Po Byu; the work to be produced under the auspices of the Burma Research Society.

(ii) Resolved that the work be offered for publication to the Kawimyetmhan Press initially, to be produced by the end of November 1923; in case of their refusal that it be offered to some other press.

4. Appointed Saya Pwa to be editor of Maung Kala's Mahāyāzawindawgyi in place of Maung Ba Kya, B. A.

5. (i) Resolved that a Sub-Committee composed of U Tin (2), K. S. M., A. T. M., U San Shwe, and U Po Sein (Convener) be appointed to draw a map or maps to scale in reference to Maung Kala's Mahāyāzawindawgyi.

(ii) That these maps when prepared be referred to experts for opinion.

(iii) That the Honorary Secretary, Text Publication Sub-Committee be authorized to ask U San Shwe if he is willing to join the Map Sub-Committee.

6. Resolved that the editor of the Dewagonban Pyazat be requested to expedite his work.

7. Resolved that U Tin (2), K. S. M., A. T. M. be requested to send to the Honorary Secretary, Text Publication Sub-Committee, his copy of Shin Uttamagyaw's Tawla with his remarks as to the genuineness of the text: and that, when received, it be circulated to the members for their opinion.

8. Deferred the selection of prose passages from the Anthology of Burmese Literature for Intermediate and B. A. students.

9. Resolved that U Kyin Han, T. D. M., (Retired District Superintendent of Police) and Saya Pwa be made regular members of the Text Publication Sub-Committee.

TUN PE

AHMED CASSIM

Joint Honorary Secretaries,

Text Publication Sub-Committee.

An Ordinary Meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at University College on Thursday, 29th November 1923. The following members were present:—Messrs. G. E. Scott, L. F. Taylor, G. E. Harvey, R. A. Cochrane, A. J. Page, D. G. E. Hall, G. H. Luce, Ahmed Cassim, San Shwe Bu, U Po Sein, U Htoon Baw, U Kyaw Zan U, U Saw Hla Pru, and U Tun Pe. Mr. San Shwe Bu, Honorary Archaeological Officer for Arakan, was in the Chair.

Mr. M. S. Collis, I. C. S., read his paper entitled "Fra Manrique : A Glimpse of Arakan in 1630 A. D."

An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. Harvey and the Chairman took part and the meeting concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

The Twelfth meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee was held at the Bernard Free Library on Sunday, the 23rd. December 1923, at 8 a. m.

PRESENT,

U Po Byu	(in the chair)
U Po Sein A. T. M.	Saya Pwa
U Tun Pe M. A.	Mr. A. Cassim, B. A.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the eleventh meeting of the Sub-Committee held on the 16th September 1923.

2. Resolved that the question of the introduction to the Ummadanti Pyo be postponed for consideration to a special meeting to be held on the 5th or 6th January 1924; and that U Tin (2), K. S. M., A. T. M., be particularly requested to attend.

3. Resolved that Maung Tun Pe, M. A., produce for the consideration of the Sub-Committee at the meeting of the 5th or 6th January 1924 a specimen sheet of the index prepared by him to accompany the Society's edition of Ummadanti Pyo.

4. The Sub-Committee considers the Padesaraja Egyin as suitable for use as a text book in High Schools and University. Further, it requests the Honorary Secretary of the Society to forward this recommendation to the Education Department and the University for consideration and necessary action.

5. Resolved that the question of the Introduction to the Dewa-gonban Pyazat be postponed for consideration at the special meeting to be held on the 5th or 6th January next; and that in the meanwhile the introduction written by Saya Yaik be circulated to the members for perusal.

AHMED CASSIM,
TUN PU,
*Joint Honorary Secretaries,
Text Publication Sub-Committee.*

Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College on 21st January 1924.

PRESENT.

G. H. Luce, Esq. (in the chair).
L. F. Taylor, Esq. | Maung Aung Than
A. Cassim, Esq. | U Tun Pe

W. G. Fraser, Esq., Honorary Secretary.

1. Resolved that the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on 24th August 1923 be confirmed.

2. Considered minutes of meetings of the Text Publication Sub-Committee during 1923.

RESOLVED—(a) that the Director of Public Instruction be informed that the Society is considering the preparation of an edition of the Padesaraja Egyin and would be grateful if he would say whether the work would be recommended for use in schools if an edition of it were published.

(b) that a Sub-Committee consisting of the President, the Honorary Editor, and the Joint-Secretaries of the Text Publication Sub-Committee be appointed to review and report on the organisation of the Text Publication Sub-Committee.

3. Resolved with reference to letter dated 17th October 1923 from the Secretary, Bataviaasch Genootschap, that the Honorary Secretary should reply that the Burma Research Society would be glad to receive the "Archaeological Bulletin" in exchange for the Burma Research Society's Journal; that the Society will be glad to give a set of its Journal in exchange for such of the earlier issues of the "Rapporten" from 1901 to 1915 as the Royal Batavia Society is prepared to give; and that the Burma Research Society should subscribe to the "Tijdschrift" for 1924 and that the cost of earlier issues be ascertained.

4. Resolved that letter dated October 12th from the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, intimating that the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society is glad to receive the Burma Research Society as an Associate Society, be recorded.

5. Resolved that letter dated October 20th from the Secretary, Folklore Society, intimating that the Folklore Society cannot see its way to agree to an exchange of publications be recorded.

6. Resolved that the following be recorded :—

(a) receipt of Subject Index of London Library, Vol. II

(b) letters dated July 8th and August 12th from Mr. Rodger and Pe Maung Tin.

7. Resolved to sanction purchase of an additional book-case at a cost of Rs. 100.

8. Approved the Annual Report for submission at the Annual General Meeting.

9. Resolved that the Annual General Meeting be held at University College at 6-30 p. m. on February 15th and that a paper by Mr. Taylor on "A Burma Provincial Museum" be read.

10. Resolved that the price of all back numbers of the Journal be Rs. 5 each.

11. Recorded receipt of district maps from Deputy Commissioners. Their receipt has been acknowledged with the warm thanks of the Society.

W. G. FRASER.

Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College on 30th January 1924.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung, President.

G. H. Luce Esq. | A. Cassim Esq.

L. F. Taylor Esq. | Mg. Aung Than

W. G. Fraser, Esq.

1. Resolved that the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on 21st January 1924 be confirmed.

2. Resolved that the date of the annual general meeting be altered to 22nd February 1924.

3. Resolved that the Honorary Editor be authorised to enter into correspondence with Mr. San Shwe Bu regarding certain palm-leaf Mss. referred to in Mr. Duroiselle's letter to Honorary Editor dated 18th January 1924.

4. Resolved that a meeting of the Society be held after 1st July and that His Excellency the Governor be requested to honour the Society by taking the chair at the meeting.

5. Elected Maung E Maung, Barrister-at-Law, an ordinary member of the Society.

W. G. FRASER,

Honorary Secretary.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

22nd February 1924.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at University College at 6.30 p. m. on 22nd. February 1924. The following members were present:—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung, The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Maung Gyi, Messrs. J. C. Bilimoria, J. MacKenna, E. H. Seppings, L. F. Taylor, E. J. Pullar, D. J. Sloss, G. E. Scott, L. D. Wilson, S. P. S. Iyer, G. S. Jury, J. Tapa, G. F. Munro, D. G. E. Hall, D. H. Peacock, Ahmed Cassim, R. E. Cooper, G. E. Gates, J. J. Nolan, G. H. Luce, W. G. Fraser, Saya Thein, Rev. D. G. Gilmore, U Po Sein, Saya Pwa, Saya Pe, U Tun Pe, Prof. Meggitt. The general public was also well represented at the meeting, Mr. Jas. MacKenna, C. I. E., was in the chair.

Mr. L. F. Taylor, I. E. S., read a paper on "A Burma Provincial Museum" which will be printed elsewhere in the Journal. On the conclusion of the paper a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Taylor at the call of the Chairman, who spoke in very appreciative terms of Mr. Taylor's paper, and who also spoke on schemes which had been under consideration to provide a Provincial Museum for Burma.

The Honorary Secretary and Treasurer then read the Annual Report of the Society, the adoption of which was moved by Mr. Nolan and seconded by Dr. Gilmore and carried unanimously.

The Annual Report was as follows:—

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923.

At the end of 1922, the roll of members was as follows:—

Patron	(office vacant)
Honorary member	1
Corresponding Members	4
Life Members	52
Ordinary Members	312
	<hr/>
	369

In January 1923 His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler accepted the office of Patron. In March Dr. Mathew Hunter was elected an Honorary Member. During the year one member (a Life Member) died, 16 resigned and 17 were deemed to have resigned: 21 new members were elected, of whom 2 became Life members. At the end of the year the roll was therefore as follows:—

Patron	1
Honorary Members	2
Corresponding Members	4
Life Members	53
Ordinary Members	297
	<hr/>
Total	357

It is regrettable that a number of members have had to be struck off the roll owing to failure to pay the annual subscription. It is perhaps not to be expected that all who join the Society should become permanent members; but it would save the Society inconvenience and loss if members who desire to resign would give due notice to the Honorary Secretary.

The Society has lost by the departure of Mr. J. S. Furnivall who was elected president at the last annual general meeting. Mr. Furnivall was among those who founded the Society and was one of its keenest supporters and a valued contributor to its Journal. Since his departure the office of President has been held by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung. The Society lost by death during the year U Po Bye, a Life Member from 1910.

MEETINGS.—Three meetings of the Society were held, *viz.*, (1) the Annual General Meeting on 9th February when a paper by U Tha Kin entitled "Depressed Classes in Burma" was read. (2) a meeting on 17th August when a paper entitled "Story of the Migrations" by Major Enriquez and a paper by Mr. J. A. Stewart, I. C. S., entitled "Note on some authorities for the history of Burma" were read. (3) A meeting on 29th November when Mr. M. S. Collis, I. C. S., read his paper "Fra Manrique: a Glimpse of Arakan in 1630 A. D."

The Executive Committee met three times and the Sub-Committee once during the year.

TEXT PUBLICATION SUB-COMMITTEE—During the year three meetings were held, and in addition Burmese members of the Sub-Committee held on four occasions informal meetings. The Dewagonban Pyazat, as edited by U Tin, K. S. M., A. T. M., is in the press and will soon be published. The Society has permitted Saya Yaik to publish it at his own risk, the present edition not to exceed 2000 copies. The press has already printed the text of the Unmadanti Pyo, which is for sale. The departure on leave of Maung Ba Kya, the editor of Maung Kalayazawin, has delayed the issue of this work and in his place Saya Pwa has been appointed. A noticeable feature of this edition will be the maps. U San Shwe, S. L. R., U Tin, K. S. M., A. T. M., and U Po Sein, A. T. M., D. I. S., have consented to undertake the preparation of these maps.

In response to our request Mr. Pe Maung Tin has furnished the Society with a list of the Burmese and Pali Manuscripts kept in the British Museum and certain libraries in England. The Society is again indebted to the Pyi Gyi Mundyne Press for their willingness to undertake the publication of texts prepared by the Society, and to the editors of these works for their labour and time so generously devoted to the preparation of the texts. During the year Mr. A. Cassim took over the Joint-Secretaryship from Mr. G. H. Luce, the Honorary Editor of the Society.

THE JOURNAL—Four issues of the Journal (Vol. XII Parts II and III, Vol. XIII Parts I and II) have appeared during the year under report, but the December number is still overdue; and the Editor regrets that he has been as yet unable, through pressure of other work, to bring it into a final state for publication. It is to be a "Chinese number" (devoted to the earliest allusions to Burma in the Chinese dynastic histories and elsewhere); and as some typographic difficulties may be expected, the Editor trusts that members will be patient.

The Society desires to express its gratitude to contributors.

Some Arakanese members—than whom the Journal has no keener contributors—have made a special request for an "Arakan Number." The Editor is hoping to be able to arrange this during the coming year; and already there is a good deal of material in hand.* He has also been asked to open the Journal to contributions on Scientific subjects, several being promised shortly. The Society trusts that the publication of such articles will attract a new circle of members. The provision of plates necessary to illustrate scientific work is bound to add considerably to the cost of the Journal; and while the Society does not grudge this in the least if funds are available, an earnest request is made to members to make this feasible by stimulating membership.

Finally, the Editor desires to repeat his request, made in last year's Annual Report, for volunteers willing to undertake reviews or translations of works in Dutch or German or any of the vernacular languages in or near Burma. In particular he would mention the various Siamese Chronicles as an almost untouched field of research bearing on Burma.

LIBRARY—During the current year, Rs. 920 has been spent on purchase of books, including periodicals, and binding, and the number of books in the Library, excluding unbound periodicals, has risen from 832 to 1503. A beginning has been made with a scientific side of the Library. Valuable works have been presented by the National Library, Bangkok, and by Messrs Halliday, Taylor, Maung Tin, Maung San Shwe and others. The Librarian desires to express his thanks to U Tun Pe and Mr. G. E. Harvey for their help in selecting and purchasing Burmese and other books.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE HMANNAN YAZAWIN.—The translation of part of the Hmannan Yazawin by Messrs. Pe Maung Tin and Luce appeared during the year. The authors deserve the thanks of the Society and of all students of Burmese history for this work which has attracted much attention in Europe and America.

COMPETITION—During the year the results of the competition for prizes given by the late U Chit Maung and by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung were declared. The competition was the most successful held so far by the Society.

FINANCES.—The year opened with a balance of Rs. 14,215-11-0 and ended with a balance of Rs. 12,578-3-6 in favour of the Society. The printing of the translation of the Hmannan Yazawin cost Rs. 2,500

* The "Araken number" is now in the Press, and will precede the "Chinese number":—Ed

which was paid during the year. From the Text Publication Fund Rs. 165 was paid for printing the Owadahtu Pyo. This fund now stands at Rs. 335 which is included in the general fund of the Society. Three issues of the Journal were paid for during the year, the total cost being Rs. 1,687-4. Expenditure exceeded income for the year by over Rs. 1,700 owing to the cost of the Hmannan Yazawin. The Society has investments which bring in Rs. 495 per annum and post office cash certificates which appreciate in value by about Rs. 300 yearly till June 1928. To ensure a revenue of Rs. 5000 yearly the Society should have 300 ordinary members, and it is to be hoped that all members will endeavour to assist the Society by encouraging others to become members and by prompt payment of subscriptions.

Revenue and Expenditure Account for 1923.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
By Last year's balance ...	14,215	11	0	To Clerk's salary ...	480	0	0
„ Members' subscriptions ...	3,947	0	0	„ Peon's pay ...	119	8	0
„ Recovery of V.P.P. charges ...	13	5	0	„ Typing fees ...	119	12	0
„ Interest on Investments ...	494	4	0	„ Printing Journal (3 issues) ...	1,687	4	0
„ Sale of Journal ...	332	15	6	„ Stationery ...	74	15	0
„ Sale of 'Hmannan' ...	465	0	0	„ Books and Periodicals ...	920	10	3
„ Sale of 'Owadahtu Pyo' ...	67	8	0	„ Postage Stamps ...	370	9	0
„ U Chit Maung's Prize Fund ...	125	0	0	„ Contingencies ...	25	5	6
„ Miscellaneous ...	4	7	6	„ Printing forms ...	213	12	6
				„ Printing of 'Owadahtu Pyo' 1000 copies ...	165	0	0
				„ Award of Prizes... ..	175	0	0
				„ 'Glass Palace Chronicle,' Printing and other charges ...	2,581	2	3
				„ Copying fees ...	140	4	0
				„ Miscellaneous ...	11	15	0
					7,085	1	6
				Balance ...	12,580	1	6
Total Rs.	19,665	3	0	Total Rs.	19,665	3	0

DETAILS OF BALANCE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Government 10 years 6 % Bonds ...	4,500	0	0
Deposits in Upper Burma Co-operative Bank @ $7\frac{1}{2}$ % ...	3,000	0	0
Post Office Cash Certificates (purchase price) ...	4,500	0	0
Balance at Bank	580	1	6
Total Rs.	12,580	1	6

The election of officers and members of committee was then proceeded with. The following were elected :—

PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

U Shwe Zan Aung

Prof. K. M. Ward

J. J. Nolan, Esq.

HON. SECY. & TREASURER.

W. G. Fraser, Esq.

HON. EDITOR & LIBRARIAN.

G. H. Luce, Esq.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Sir C. M. Webb	U Po Sein
J. MacKenna, Esq.	U Tun Pe
U Po Byu	A. Cassim, Esq.
U Tin	Mg. Aung Than
C. W. Dunn, Esq.	D. J. Sloss, Esq.
L. F. Taylor, Esq.	Prof. D. G. E. Hall
Dr. Ross	Prof. F. J. Meggitt
G. E. Harvey, Esq.	

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The Members of the Executive Committee and

J. L. McCallum, Esq.	U Ba E
U Tin	C. E. Browne, Esq.
Major Enriquez	San Shwe Bu, Esq.
U Kyaw Dun	Ch. Duroiselle, Esq.
Taw Sein Ko	A. Rodger, Esq.
A. P. Morris, Esq.	U Tha Tun Aung
J. A. Stewart, Esq.	

On his election as President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung took the chair, and thanked the Society for the honour they had done him in electing him president. He also spoke on the work done by the Society and on the need for new members to join and support the Society.

On the conclusion of the meeting Mr. G. H. Luce called for a vote of thanks to Mr. MacKenna which was heartily accorded.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

BY CIRCULAR

The Sub-Committee has elected the following members :—

Maung Su, G.E.T. Green, S. F. Stainer, Maung Tso Maung, Messrs. S. P. Bush, Saw Chin Htin, G. F. Munro, H. O. Reynolds and L. J. Goldsworthy

List of Recent Additions to the Library.

BY PRESENTATION.

- Lik Smin Asah : the story of the founding of Pegu and a subsequent invasion from South India, translated by Rev. R. Halliday. American Baptist Mission Press 1923.
- Burma Census Report, 1911, Part I, 2 copies; Part II, 2 copies; Part III, 3 copies.
- Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1823-1923, by F. E. Pargiter, 1923.
- Arts et Archéologie Khmers, Tome I, Fascicule 3.
- St. Mark (*in Mawken*), British and Foreign Bible Society, Rangoon 1913.
- Wir Menschen der indonesischen Erde, von Dr. h. c. Renward Brandstetter (III—Der Intellekt der indonesischen Rasse) 1923.

BY EXCHANGE.

- Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, 1920-21 by Sir John Marshall, (Government Press, Calcutta, 1923).
- Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 14—Antiquities of Bhimbar and Rajauri, by Ram Chandra Kak (Government Printing, Calcutta, 1923).
- Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1923 (Government Press, Rangoon, 1923).
- Indian Antiquary, Vol. LII; August 1923 to February 1924.
- Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. IX Part I July 1923.
- Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Index Général des Tomes I—XX.
- Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Tome XXII—1922.
- Oudheidkundig Verslag 1922.
- Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Deel LXII. Djawa, September and December 1923.
- Subject-Index of the London Library, by C. T. H. Wright, and C. J. Purnell (1923).
- Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. III, Part I (1923).
- The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LIII (January to June 1923)
- The Journal of the East India Association, Vol. XIV, No. 4, and Vol. XV., No. I.
- Batikwerk Tentoonstelling II, door het Java-Instituut.
- Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, Part II (October 1923).
- The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Part IV 1923 and Part I 1924.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)
Vol. XVIII, 1922 Nos. 7 and 8.

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. IX, October 1923.

Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, LIII Band,
VI. Heft.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. V, Part I.

Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué, Le Tombeau de Gia-Long, July and
September 1923.

Journal Asiatique, Tome CCII.

Index to Indian Antiquary, Vols. I--L (1872-1921), by L. Mary Anstey.
Part I Authors' Index; and Parts II and III, Subject Index and
Illustrations.

BY PURCHASE.

T'oung Pao, Vol. XXII. Nos. 3 and 4 (July and October) 1923.

Man in India, Vol. III Nos. 1 and 2.

LIST OF MEMBERS (Dec. 31st, 1923).*

*Life member.

†Corresponding member.

‡Honorary member.

- *Adamson, Sir Harvey, c/o India Office, London.
 Aiyar, N. C. Krishna, M.A., University College, Rangoon.
 Aung, U Shwe Zan, B.A., A.T.M., K.S.M., Excise Commissioner, Burma.
 Aung, U Tha Tun, B.A., Additional District Judge, Pakokku Rangoon.
 Aung, Maung Kyaw Za, S. D. O., Kyauktaw (Akyab District).
 Aung, Maung Lun, Myook, Paungdè, (Tharrawaddy).
 Aung, U Tun, Hony : Magistrate, Nandawya Quarter, Sagaing.
 *Ba, Maung, A.T.M., Income-tax Assessor, Mandalay.
 Ba, Maung, (4), B.A., K.S.M., District and Sessions Judge, Myaungmya.
 Bah, Maung, Rice Miller, Payagale-upon-Kyaiklat Stream, Kyaiklat.
 *Ban, Maung Shwe, *Bar.-at-Law*, 15, York Road, Rangoon.
 Barretto, Miss E., Principal, Victoria Buddhist Girls' School, 57, Canal Street, Rangoon.
 Barretto, Wm. L., Deputy Commissioner, Ma-ubin.
 Barton, C. S., Bombay Burma Trading Corporation, Ltd., Pauk (Pakokku).
 Baw, U Hla, I.S.O., K.S.M., District and Sessions Judge, Bassein.
 Baw, U Htoon, Hony : Magistrate, Akyab.
 Bazett, H. M., Burma Frontier Service, Yamethin.
 Bhmeah, H. M. E., 151, Monkey Point Road, Rangoon.
 Bilimoria, J. C., B.A., *Bar.-at-Law*, University College, Rangoon.
 Bishop, F., 16 Leamouth Grove, Edinburgh.
 †Blagden, Dr. C. Otto., 57, Earl's Court Square, London, S. W. 5.
 Brookes, A., I.E.S., University College, Rangoon.
 Brough, Joseph, Secretary, Y. M. C. A, Central Branch, Rangoon.
 *Brown, G. E. R. Grant, c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, London.
 Brown, H. A., I.C.S., *Bar.-at-Law*, District and Sessions Judge, Myingyan.
 Brown, R. R., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Minbu.
 Browne, C. E., I.S.O., Loi-an, Kalaw, S. S. S.
 Bu, Maung Mya, *Bar.-at-Law*, Asst. Govt. Advocate, Rangoon.
 Bu, Maung San Shwe, Teacher, Govt. High School, Akyab.
 Bwa, Maung Ba, Excise Inspector, Myanaung.
 Bush, S. P., Govt. Architect, Secretariat, P. W. D., Rangoon.
 Butler, Sir Spencer Harcourt, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Patron.
 Byu, U Po, 14 Pagoda Road, Rangoon.

*Members are particularly requested to inform the Hon. Sec. of any change in their address.

- Calvert, Capt. F. E. R., Assistant Commandant, Burma Military Police, Myitkyina.
- Campbell, A., University College, Rangoon.
- Cardot, The Right Rev. Bishop A., Vicar Apostolic of Southern Burma, Rangoon.
- *Carr, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, W., I.C.S., Addl. Judge, High Court of Judicature, Rangoon.
- Carroll, E. W., Imperial Forest Service, c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Rangoon.
- Cassim, A., B.A., Pali Lecturer, University College, Rangoon.
- Cassim, M., Head Master, Govt. Normal School, Akyab.
- Chambers, W P. C., Messrs. Steel Bros., Toungoo.
- *Chit, U Po, A.T.M., S.D.O., Yamethin.
- Clague, J., B.A., I.C.S., "Underwood" Maymyo.
- Clayton, H., M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E., Financial Commissioner, Burma.
- Cleburne, J., St. H., District Superintendent of Police, Katha.
- *Cochrane, R. A., Divisional Forest Officer, Katha.
- Collis, M. S., B.A., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Akyab.
- Cooper, C. R. P., "Garden Reach", Maymyo.
- Cooper, R. E., Superintendent, Agricultural Society of Burma, Rangoon.
- *Couper, T., M.A., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Shwedo.
- †Craddock, The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Henry, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.
- Crawford, Prof. R. N., M.A., Judson College Rangoon.
- *Cuffe, Lady, "Leyrath" Kilkenny, Ireland.
- Cummings, Rev. Dr. J. E., M.A., D.D., Henzada.
- Dacca University Library, Dacca.
- Darne, Rev. Father A., Military Chaplain, Roman Catholic Cathedral, Mandalay.
- Darwood, J. W., 77 Merchant Street, Rangoon.
- Davis, C. K., Land Officer & Secretary, Rangoon Development Trust Rangoon.
- Dawson, L., *Bar-at-Law*, Pyapon.
- Desai, W. S., University College, Rangoon.
- de Silva, Thos. P., c/o Messrs. Harperink, Smith & Co., Rangoon.
- Din, U Min., K.S.M., T.D.M., D.S.P., Toungoo.
- Doe, U Ah, *Bar-at-Law*, Akyab.
- Dok, Saw Pan, B.A., Junior Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Mandalay.
- Douglas, Prof. W., University College, Rangoon (on furlough).
- Drysdale, Rev., J. A., M.A., "The Manse," Signal Pagoda Road, Rangoon.
- Dun, U Kyaw, K.S.M., Nyaung Waing Road, Thaton.
- Dunn, C. W., B.A., I.C.S., C.I.E., Maymyo.
- Duroiselle, Ch., M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Mandalay.
- E. U. Ba, B.A., A.T.M., K.S.M., D.S.O., Kyauktan. (Hanthawaddy).
- E. Khoo Soo, Merchant, 3A, 23rd Street, Rangoon.
- *Edmonds, Rev. F. R., Christ Church, Mandalay.

- Enriquez, Major C. M., Divisional Recruiting Officer, Mandalay.
 Ewing, Capt. R. R., I.A., c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Rangoon.
 Fraser, W. G., M. A., University College, Rangoon.
 *Furnivall, J. S., M.A., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Brindley & Co., 54 Parliament Street, London, S. W.
 Fyffe, The Right Rev. R. S., Bishop of Rangoon.
 Gale, Maung, Assistant Superintendent, Mong Mit, N. S. S.
 Gale, U Maung, Assistant Judge, Shwebo.
 Gates, G. E., Judson College, Rangoon.
 Gaudoin, E. T. D., B.A., Assistant Superintendent, Shwegu, (Bhamo.)
 Gerrard, W. M., Engineer, Messrs. Steel Bros. & Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
 Gilmore, Rev. D. C., Judson College, Rangoon.
 Ginwala, P. P., *Bar-at-Law*, 70, Phayre Street, Rangoon.
 Glay, Maung Lu, Senior Law Instructor, Burma Provincial Police Training School, Mandalay.
 Gon, Maung Ba, Superintendent, Copying Department, High Court, Rangoon.
 Grantham, S. G., B.A., I.C.S., (on furlough.)
 Green, Capt. J. H., I.A., Kachin Unit, Maymyo.
 Green, G. E. T., 3 Kalaw, Southern Shan States.
 Gyee, The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Maung, *Bar-at-Law*, Minister to the Governor of Burma.
 Gyi, Maung Maung, Superintendent of Land Records, Yamethin.
 Gyi, Maung Maung, M.R.A.S., Inspector of Excise, Mandalay.
 Gywe, U Aung, A.T.M., Township Officer, Letpadan.
 Hall, Prof. D. G. E., M.A., F.R. Hist. S., I.E.S., University College, Rangoon.
 †Halliday, Rev. R., Mount Pleasant, Moulmein.
 Han, Maung Ba, M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge.
 Han U Kyin, T.D.M. Deputy Superintendent of Police, (retired), 21 Creek Street, Rangoon.
 Hanson, Rev. O., D.D., A. B. Kachin Mission, Bhamo.
 Harvey, G. E., M.A., I.C.S., Superintendent, Cottage Industries, Burma.
 Heath, C. J., District Superintendent of Police, Minbu.
 Hertz, W. A., Lecturer in Burmese, Cambridge University, 25 Milton Road, Cambridge.
 Hindley, Gordon, c/o Messrs. Steel Bros. & Co., Ltd., Mepal, *via* Moulmein.
 Hla, Maung, B.A., Extra Assistant Commissioner, Thabaung (Bassein).
 Hla, Maung Aung, B.A., (1), District & Sessions Judge, Thayetmyo.
 Hla, Maung Ba, Officer in charge, Special Surveys, Burma, Shwebo.
 Hla, Maung Kyaw Zan, 1st. Additional Judge, Court of Small Causes Rangoon.
 Hlaing, U Po, Retired Treasurer & Advocate, Myingyan.
 *Hlaing, Maung Po, Township Officer, Tilin (Pakokkur).
 Hlaing, Maung Tun, Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Akyab.
 Holme, H. B., B.A., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Moulmein.

- Homer, C. J. Executive Engineer, P. W. D., Monkey Point Road, Rangoon.
- Houldey, J. E., B.A., I.C.S., Commissioner of Pegu, Rangoon.
- Howard, R. L., Principal, Judson College, Rangoon.
- Htein, Maung, B.A., Junior Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Mandalay.
- Htoon, Maung Tha, Banker, Akyab.
- Hunter, Sir John Mark, M.A., D. Litt., I.E.S., Woodleigh, Ascot, England.
- † Hunter, M., M.A., D.Sc., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., c/o Messrs: Thomas Cook & Son, London, E. C.
- I, Maung, Assistant Judge, Tharrawaddy. Imperial Library, Calcutta.
- Iyer, S. P. S., Corporate Accountant & Public Auditor, 29 B, Lewis St., Rangoon.
- *Jamal, Sir A. K. A. S., Kt., C.I.E., 26 Merchant Street, Rangoon.
- Jones, Rev. B. M., 4, Kennedy Road, Rangoon.
- Jones, T. Martin, 6 Prome Road, Rangoon.
- Josif, Rev. Geo. D., M.A., Principal, Baptist Normal School, Rangoon.
- Jury, Rev. G. S., Judson College, Rangoon.
- Kan, Maung. Sub-Judge, Nyaunglebin.
- Kay, R. G., Engineer, Messrs. Ellermans Arracan Rice & Trading Co., Ltd., Dawbong Mill, Rangoon.
- Keith, A. D., B.A., *Bar-at-Law*, Mason's Building, 35th Street, Rangoon.
- Keith, The Hon'ble Mr. W. J., M.A., I.C.S., Member of Executive Council of the Governor of Burma.
- Khalak, A., St. John's College, Rangoon.
- Khin, Capt. H. Aung, Indian Station Hospital, Meiktila.
- Kin, The Hon'ble Sir Maung, K.C.I.E., Member of Executive Council of the Governor of Burma.
- Kin, U Tha, Pleader Pyapon.
- Kin, U Thein, B.A., A.T.M., F.C.S., Assistant Chemical Examiner to Government, Burma.
- *Ko, Taw Sein, C.I.E., "Peking Lodge," West Moat Rd., Mandalay.
- Kya, Maung Ba, B.A., Assistant Pali Lecturer, University College, Rangoon.
- Kyaw, Maung, B.A., Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Moulmein.
- Kyaw, Maung Ba, (2) *Bar-at-Law*, K.S.M., 8 Link Road, Insein.
- Kye, U Po, Subdivisional Officer, Mingin. (Upper Chindwin).
- Kyu, U Shwe, Retired Judicial E. A. C., Pyu. (Toungoo).
- Kywe, Maung, (1), Circle Inspector of Police, Zigon.
- *Lack, Major L. H. A., I.M.S., Civil Surgeon, Prome.
- Lander, A. J. M., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. A. Scott & Co., Rangoon.
- Lat, Maung, Assistant Registrar Co-operative Societies, Rangoon.
- Latt, U Ba Pe, Superintendent, S. T. Thippan Institution, Paungdaung.

- Lazarus, Dr. J., I.M.S., Civil Asst. Surgeon, General Hospital, Rangoon.
- Lees, M. L., I.C.S., Asst. Settlement officer, Mandalay.
- Lightfoot, S. St. C., Taunggyi
- *Lin, U We, B.A., R.S.M., I.E.S., Inspector of Schools, Bassein.
- List, J. N., c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, Rangoon.
- Llay, U Shwe, M.L.C., Kado Rubber Estate, Kado, Moulmein.
- Lloyd, I. G., B.A., I.C.S., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 16 St. James Street, London.
- *Luce, G. H., B.A., I.E.S., University College, Rangoon.
- Lwai, W. A., Toll Collector, Myitkyo Lock, Pegu & Sittang Canal, Myitkyo (Pegu District).
- *McCallum, J. L., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner., Mandalay.
- MacKenna, J., M.A., C.I.E., I.C.S., Development Commissioner, Burma.
- McPhredran, Arch., Works Assistant, c/o B.O.C., Ltd., Dannedaw, Rangoon.
- Manook, J. M., Inspector of Excise, Moulmein.
- Mariano, V.J., Rangoon Gazette, Rangoon.
- Marshall, Rev. H. I., Seminary Hill, Insein.
- Marshall, J.B., M.A., B.Sc., C.I.E., I.C.S., (On furlough)
- Martin, Maung, Deputy Inspector of Karen Schools, Toungoo.
- Massink, W., Consul for the Netherlands, P.O. Box 119, Rangoon.
- Mathew, H.M., Messrs. Steel Bros., Rangoon.
- Maung, Maung, Superintendent., Office of Supdg. Engr., Northern Irrigation Circle, Maymyo.
- Maung, U Maung, A.T.M., Offg. Inspector of Schools, Insein.
- Maung, Maung Chit, E.A.C., Head Quarters Asst., Hanthawaddy.
- Maung, Maung E, A.T.M. Addl. District Judge, Pegu.
- Maung, Maung Kin, (2), Myook, Pabedan, 3rd. Division, Moulmein.
- Maung, Lieut. Kin, 5/70 Burma Rifles, Meiktila.
- Maung, Ko Lun, Head Clerk, Police Office, Taunggyi.
- Maung, U Sein, Township Judge, Tantabin.
- *Maung, Maung Thein, Township Officer, Taungtha.
- Maung, Maung Thein, M.A., L.L.B., *Bar-at-Law*, 6, Barr Street, Rangoon.
- Maung, Maung Thein, (2), Treasury Officer, Pyapon.
- Maung, Maung Tun, (2) B.A., Akunwun, Toungoo.
- *Maung, Maung Tso, T.P.S., F.R.C.I., Broker, Ellerman's Arracan Rice and Trading Co. Ltd., Bassein.
- Maung, Maung Tun., Junior Assistant Registrar, Cooperative Societies Monywa.
- *Me, U., R.S.M., Deputy Commissioner, Prome.
- Medd, Capt. G. H. M., Agent, Irrawaddy Flotilla Co. Ltd., Bhamo.
- Meggitt, Prof. F. J., M. Sc., Ph.D., University College, Rangoon.
- Milner, C.E., Dputy Conservator of Forests, Shwebo.
- Missionary Research Library, 25, Madison Avenue, New York.
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